FRAGMENTS AND EMPIRE:

CAMBODIAN ART FROM THE ANGKOR PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

The John Young collection of Khmer art, once owned by John Chin Young (1909-1997), is divided today between two museums, the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) on the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus and the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA, formerly the HMA or HAA) in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Both museum collections contain several of Young's Angkor period artworks that have yet to be the subject of thorough art historical research. Five sandstone reliefs in JYMA and two reliefs from HoMA collection provide a valuable opportunity to engage with the Angkor period regarding both stylistic developments and shifts in Angkor's political power. This thesis examines the sandstone reliefs from the John Young collection and the significant questions they pose when considering the distribution of Khmer artistic traditions outside of the Angkorian capital and into territorial margins, specifically, northeastern Thailand. My research is the first comprehensive art historical study of the John Young collection of Khmer art.

This thesis includes a secondary exhibition component. In addition to the written thesis, I curated the exhibition, *Fragments & Empire: Cambodian Art from the Angkor Period*, which opened at the John Young Museum of Art on March 6, 2016 and closed on May 6, 2016. *Fragments & Empire* exhibited all the Khmer artwork from JYMA's collection and incorporated ten digital loans of Khmer art from HoMA in a single exhibition space.

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INTRODUCTION

The Angkor period (ca. 802-1431) and its unique sculptural tradition has attracted the attention of collectors from the nineteenth century to the present-day. It is not uncommon to find Angkor period artworks on display in museums, and increasingly as part of museum collections online in a digitized format. Institutions such as the National Museum of Cambodia (formerly the Musée Albert Sarraut) in Phnom Penh, the Musée Guimet in Paris, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City are among the premier museum collections housing Angkorian (or Khmer) art in the world. However, the opportunity to see Angkorian art on display is not exclusive to these larger museums. Angkorian sculpture is also found in smaller, state or regional museums, or even in the possession of private collectors. In instances where curatorial expertise in Khmer art is lacking, or emphasis is not placed on a Cambodian art collection, these sandstone survivors of Angkor's once great empire often go under-researched, misidentified, or overlooked altogether.

This difficulty in interpreting Khmer art in the museum context may be due in-part to curatorial knowledge, but it is also linked to the literal fragmentation of the artworks themselves. Khmer art, specifically sandstone sculptures, have been removed from their original function as part of a Khmer temple.[1] Their piecemeal appearance can generate confusion pertaining to identification, as well as perpetuating misassumptions about Angkorian art and its function.

When a visitor encounters a sandstone lintel or sculpture in a museum setting, they are often met with a simple label (often referred to as a "tombstone label") which only describes the

[1] Because most Khmer artwork in museums was originally intended as part of a Khmer temple site, artworks such as lintels were specifically placed above temple doorways. It is rare to find surviving portions of Khmer temples accompanied by inscriptions that would assist in dating the artwork. Inscriptions can be found on the doorways of Khmer temples, but not on the lintels themselves.

title, country of origin, date, medium, credit line, and inventory number. If a museum has additional information or basic research on their Khmer collection, the artwork may also be accompanied by a "period style" attribution (see Chapter 1). Short, descriptive text may also accompany Khmer art. These labels will often speak to thematic concepts pertaining to the Khmer belief systems during the Angkor period, which incorporated elements of Hindu and Buddhist traditions with pre-existing Khmer religion. Rarely do labels speak to concerns after the Angkor period, such as cultural change, reinterpretation and reuse of artworks, the impact Khmer art collecting, updated scholarship on Khmer art history, or even topics of preservation and repatriation.

However, Angkorian sculpture, if accompanied by provenance documentation, can have a rich and valuable biography. For example, the *Head of an Apsara* from the Honolulu Museum of Art (Appendix A-16 a, b, c, d) can be traced to the École française d'Extrême-Orient (ÉFEO) in Hanoi, Vietnam before entering HAA's collection in 1935.[2] This specific relief fragment originally played an integral role as part of an Angkor period Khmer temple during the late 12th century, but the provenance of this artwork also directly speaks to the French Colonial period (1863-1953) and the involvement of French scholarship in Southeast Asia (and potential relationships between the ÉFEO and this Hawai'i museum).[3]

It is also rare to find the presentation of Khmer artwork in a museum which includes additional visual aids (whether it be photographs, iPads, or video) to assist a visitor in understanding the original location of the fragmented sculptures, whether they were once figural

[2] Records in the Honolulu Museum of Art link the sculpture to the ÉFEO.
[3] See Appendix A-19 for the label used in the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition. Further research on this artwork should be conducted as it may reveal an important connection between the ÉFEO and HoMA, a connection that is not detailed in HoMA records.

sculptures or external temple carvings.[4] Figural sculpture is almost always on-view with missing appendages, or appears severed from its original body altogether. The *Head of a Deity (Probably Śiva)* from the John Young Museum of Art (fig. A-19) dating between the 12th-13th century, originally had a full body sculpted in the round and inhabited a Khmer temple shrine. Figural sculpture was originally painted and adorned in fabrics, jewelry and accoutrements that manifested the living presence of the divinity. Traces of paint and gold may survive, however, the harsh, monsoonal climate of Southeast Asia and the removal of sculptures from their original location contribute to the deterioration of original paint.[5] An Angkor style Brahma sculpture from HoMA (previously owned by Young, but not included in the exhibition) is perhaps one of the better examples in Hawai‘i which preserves evidence of possibly original gold and pigments.[6]

Encountering a sculpture such as the *Head of A Deity (Probably Śiva)* without an extensive label or diagrams may cause a visitor to interpret the sculpture not as a fragment, but instead as a bust. However, these sculptures do not represent *veristic* ideas as in Roman sculptural traditions, but instead served as bodies for Khmer gods to inhabit. Another misconception that can be perpetuated by minimal label text is the assumption that, just as in India, Khmer sculpture is placed against temple walls. The lack of discussion pertaining to a Khmer temple layout and the location of sculptures prevents a visitor from understanding the

[4] However, with the rising popularity in incorporating electronic media in museum galleries, this deficiency in visual aids may soon change.
[5] The eventual end of the Angkor period and the cessation of active veneration of the sculpture may also have led to the disintegration of gold and pigments from the surfaces of Angkorian sculpture.
[6] Complications pertaining to trace pigments and gold also arise when considering the possibility that a sculpture was venerated after the Angkor period and may contain modern-day pigments instead of ones authentic to the Angkor period.

unique quality of Angkorian figural sculpture, which typically appeared in the center of a shrine, viewable from all angles.

Sandstone lintels also require extensive interpretive labels and supporting visual aids. Perhaps the most complex Angkorian artwork to explain in a gallery setting, Khmer lintels are defined by their fragmentary nature when displayed in a museum. Removed from their temple of origin, Khmer lintels can no longer serve their purpose as part of the living temple site. Dissected by looters or broken-off from their temple due to natural causes, those unfamiliar with Angkor's art history would find it difficult to attribute the relief fragments to their specific architectural location. Often, lintel labels will discuss the surviving imagery, but rarely include diagrams that help a visitor understand its original placement and integral role to the rest of the temple site. Therefore, a visitor's understanding of the artwork they encounter today is even more abstracted from its original context. In addition, complex issues pertaining to the established stylistic dating traditions outlined by early French scholarship and subtle transitional and regional styles are rarely the feature of an exhibition label (see Chapter 2).

In rare cases, certain museums attempt to remedy the issue of intended placement and choose to mount their lintels above gallery doorways. This can be seen in HoMA's Southeast Asian Art Gallery, as well as in the Cambodian Art gallery in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.[7] This placement, however, is somewhat awkward as it is never addressed in the labels. The reason for their location can be lost on visitors, and also prevents them from appreciating the detail of the sculptures.

[7] The Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (AAM) also chooses to place some of their lintels high-up on gallery walls with no explanation as to why they are so inaccessible for the average viewer.

While museums are ripe with authentic Khmer artworks, the practice of counterfeiting Khmer sculpture continues into the present day. This has resulted in extremely convincing fakes making their way onto the art market and into museum collections. When a counterfeit sculpture is identified, it is common practice that it is deaccessioned from the collection. At the very least, fakes do not make their way to gallery pedestals. However, acknowledging fakes in a collection and displaying them alongside authentic artworks can also present opportunities to discuss the extremely passable nature of some Khmer art fakes and acknowledge difficult topics surrounding the Khmer art market. Chapter 3 of this thesis explores the topic of rare lintel compositions and the plausibility of forgeries when unusual lintel designs appear in museum collections.

While Khmer artwork may be common in art museums, it is rare to find an exhibition which thoroughly engages with Khmer art on multiple levels outside of general identification and storytelling of religious characters. While the incorporation of technology in museums is on the rise, it is rare to find a museum which implements electronic interactives for Khmer art in ways that enhance the discussion of an object, such as a lintel or figural sculpture. Museums must challenge this deficiency and push for more innovate ways in which to connect their visitors with these fragments and the Angkor period. Thematic story-telling or word-count constraints can often take precedence at the expense of meaningful art historical discussions. The labels themselves must speak for objects that are predominantly incomplete and therefore hard to interpret. Gallery text should also be authored in ways that engage with the various, and often complex, religious and political subjects prevalent in Khmer art. A focus on contemporary concerns such as counterfeiting and repatriation are also important conversations to have in a gallery space. The exhibition component of this thesis has sought to engage with some of these issues of display, labeling, and interpreting Khmer art for visitors in both a physical and digital

format and they are detailed in chapter 4. A summary of the John Young collection is provided in the remainder of this introduction.

John Young and the Two Museums

While Hawai‘i museums are not among the premier institutions that house and exhibit Khmer art, they do contain, smaller, but significant collections that contribute important information about Khmer art during the Angkor period. The Southeast Asian Art Gallery (gallery 18) in the Honolulu Museum of Art (formerly the Honolulu Academy of Arts) is home to aproximately 68 Angkorian sculptures total in their collection.[8] A significant portion of the Honolulu Museum of Art's Khmer collection is comprised of donations made to the museum by a private collector, John Chin Young (1909-1997). Young's Khmer art collection, donated in 1991-1992, includes sandstone sculpture, bronze sculpture, and other ritual objects. Stoneware vessels are also included. The artworks from John Young's collection are considered to be some of the most important and noteworthy pieces in HoMA's Southeast Asian Art collection. Yet, despite the value HoMA places on their collection from Young, the artworks have only been the subject of sporadic art historical research in recent years. Nancy Dowling's comprehensive paper, "Honolulu Academy of Art Tenth-Century Khmer Buddhist Trinity", was published in 1996 and the HAA's only major exhibition of Southeast Asian Art took place between

[8] The Honolulu Museum of Art has undergone frequent name changes. The Honolulu Academy of Arts was originally founded by Anna Rice Cook in 1927. The museum retained its name until 2012 when it was re-named the Honolulu Museum of Art (HMA) after its merger with The Contemporary Museum (now Spaulding House). When referring to the Honolulu Museum of Art, I will be using the name of the museum as it corresponds to the year discussed. If an artwork was donated to the museum in 1992, for example, I will reference the museum as the Honolulu Academy of Arts (HAA). It should also be noted that the museum in publications from 2015 onward is electing to use the acronym, HoMA. HoMA will be used throughout most of this thesis when referencing the museum.

September 2010 – January 2011.[9] However, HoMA is not the only museum on O'ahu that houses a Khmer art collection. After the donations to the Honolulu Academy of Arts from 1991-1992, Young also gifted part of his collection to the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) in 1998.[10]

Young was a self-taught artist who was born and resided on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i. Throughout his career, Young produced numerous paintings and watercolors that not only funded his art practice, but also provided him with the means to invest in collecting artwork. Thus, Young accumulated a massive collection of Asian art over the years, which he often had on display in his home and throughout his garden in Diamond Head.[11]

> When you visited John's house, on the makai slope of Diamond head, it was natural to be distracted by his remarkable collection of ancient and primitive art or the sound of the water that lured you to the courtyard garden. There was so much to admire: the Buddhas from Sukhothai, the Khmer figures from Cambodia, the Ban Chiang pottery and the Han Dynasty figures. Or whatever he had most recently acquired on his latest trip…he would entertain lively anecdotes about his discoveries and adventures.[12]

Among the variety of Asian artworks that John young collected throughout his travels and career, a large component was Khmer art ranging from small-scale works in bronze to large, sandstone reliefs and architectural fragments that would have adorned the exterior of Khmer

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[9] Four Thousand Years of Southeast Asian Art ran from September 10, 2010 to January 9, 2011 in the HAA's gallery 28. The exhibition focused on all of Southeast Asia and did not exclusively feature Angkor period art. See http://honolulumuseum.org/art/exhibitions/4829-four_thousand_years/ (last accessed on March 8, 2016).

[10] The John Young Museum of Art did not open until 1999. The remainder of Young's personal collection is dispersed among a handful of private collectors. The exact nature and number of these objects in private collections is unknown.

[11] Stephen Little, "The John Young Gallery of Southeast Asian Art at the Honolulu Academy of Arts," *Orientations* 27, 2 (1996): 62-68.
Susan Yim, *John Young: The Sketchbooks* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: John Young Foundation, 1998), 33-40.

[12] Yim, 33-40.

temples. The account by Yim of Young's house, as well as photographs in HoMA records show that many of Young's large-scale Khmer sculptures were kept outside in his garden.

While portions of the John Young collection were accessioned into JYMA in 1998, the museum did not open to the public until 1999.[13] The objective of JYMA is to benefit both the student body and the local community in Hawai'i. Yet, while the Young museum has been open since 1999, there has been little research on its collection, and documents providing information about the history of works, provenance, and other pertinent information are non-existent.[14] The only significant research that has been conducted specifically on the Khmer art in the collection was a series of condition reports written by a University of Hawai'i at Mānoa student, Stephen P. James, in February 2014.[15] The relatively recent research by James outlines the condition reports for four Angkorian sandstone lintels (Appendix A9, A11, A12, A13,). The reports, short in length and preliminary in nature, describe the condition of effervescence, blackening, and crystallization on the lintels.

In order to contribute to this under-studied and little-known collection, the objective of this thesis became two-fold. The first has been to research the sandstone artwork from JYMA, and develop a more comprehensive understanding of John Young's art collection found in JYMA and HoMA. Museum records (PastPerfect) gave only extremely vague titles, approximate attribution to Cambodia, and no information with regard to the historical, art historical, or

[13] http://www.hawaii.edu/johnyoung-museum/ (last accessed March 25, 2015).
[14] The John Young Museum of Art closed May 17, 2013 for renovations. It officially re-opened to the public on March 6, 2016 alongside the opening of *Fragments & Empire*.
[15] Stephen P. James was a PhD student in Education at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. James volunteered at JYMA under the supervision of the museum. His research was self-directed as part of his enrollment in a Museum Studies course at UH Mānoa and citations for the resources he consulted are not attatched to his reports. James's research is not integral for the purposes of this thesis, but it is the only documentation available from the museum in regards to past records and research.

cultural context of the Angkor period. No dates were provided in JYMA's database and misattributed works, clearly not Angkorian in origin, were included under the Cambodian art search constituent.[16]

In addition to a broad exploration of JYMA's Khmer art collection, the research aims of this thesis emphasize the sandstone artwork donated by Young to both JYMA and HoMA. Chapter one provides an overview of the Khmer temple program, the importance of Angkorian lintels, and a review of popular motifs and subjects. A brief disussion of the methodology for dating Khmer artworks through stylistic analysis is also introduced. The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the Viṣṇu on Garuda lintels from the Young collections and reconsiders the date of the Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel from HoMA (Appendix A6) and its connection to the ever-changing contours of the Khmer empire during the late 10th and early 11th centuries. The third chapter examines a unique composition not found in any other example of Khmer art (Appendix A 9a & 9b). The fourth chapter reflects upon the exhibition, *Fragments & Empire: Cambodian Art from the Angkor Period*, which was curated as a component of this thesis.

[16] For example, a small bronze figure from India that is identified as Padmapani appears incorrectly in the Khmer category field. This may be an error from past modes of display in which the Padmapani was paired with the Khmer bronzes in a display case. There are also issues in the PastPerfect database discussing Angkorian-period works from Thailand and Cambodia (which is often very difficult, if not impossible, to do when provenance is unknown). Continued exploration into the PastPerfect database should be conducted to ensure no possible Angkorian period works have been overlooked due to improper identification in the system.

CHAPTER 1

KHMER LINTELS: FUNCTION AND STYLISTIC DATING

Prior to discussing the two lintel case studies in chapters two and three, an overview of Angkor period lintels, their function, and relationship to the Khmer temple program is necessary. General considerations regarding stylistic dating will also be addressed at the end of this chapter. Khmer *prāsats* (temples) are not only found in the central Angkor region of modern-day Siem Reap province, Cambodia, but they also survive elsewhere in Cambodia and in the territories of modern-day central and northeastern Thailand, southern Vietnam, southern Laos. These temple structures are among the most important evidence of the Angkorian empire.[17] These *prāsats*, which are connected to concepts of Khmer kingship, re-create the cosmos on earth. Specifically, the design of Khmer *prāsats* evokes the cosmic mountain, Mount Meru, or Mount Sumeru, from Hinduism and Buddhism respectively in which corresponding divinities would be installed in the central and surrounding shrines.[18] The temples are believed to have been constructed in accordance to Indian treatises, most likely, the *vastu śāstras*.[19]

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[17] Freestanding sandstone statuary, bronze sculpture, and stoneware vessels are among the surviving art from the Angkor period. In rare cases, some wooden sculptures survive, however, due to Southeast Asia's monsoonal climate, impermanent materials do not survive. Archaeological evidence also includes roads, settlements, kilns, and water systems.

[18] Alexandra Handel, "Incorporating the Periphery," in *Old Myths and New Approaches*, ed. Alexandra Handel. (Monash University Publishing, 2012), 205.

[19] Handel, 205.
Handel suggests that these *vastu śāstras* are likely to have been known in Angkor, hence resulting in basic similarities in architectural features, the use of the temple space, and the overall organization of the temple complex.

Angkorian *prāsats* developed between the ninth to early thirteenth century varied in layout and complexity.[20] However, temples typically faced the east and were oriented toward the four cardinal directions.[21] The exterior surfaces of the temples would have been richly carved to include vegetal, animal, and figural adornments, while the temple's interior shrines would typically remain undecorated (however certain instances occur where decoration is present inside the shrine itself, such as the interior of Prasat Kravan). The surrounding temple complex would have also included free-standing sculpture facing outwards intending to protect the temple site and serve an apotropaic function. *Singha* (see Appendix A-10) would have occurred in pairs flanking entryways to Khmer temples, while *nāga* sculptures were found inhabiting several locations of the temple complex, appearing at the ends of balustrades, along the causeways, and atop antefixes or roofs of the *prāsats* (see Appendix A-5 and A-7).

Khmer temples were built both during the Pre-Angkor and Angkor period. While it is assumed that *prāsat* structures could have been rendered in wood or other impermanent materials, what survives in the art historical record today are predominantly "state," or royally sponsored, temples constructed of brick, sandstone, and laterite.[22] Carvings adorning pre-Angkorian and Angkorian *prāsats* occur in several locations on the structures (see Appendix A1), specifically, in the position of the pediment, colonnettes, antefix, and lintels. The lintel space, which is situated above the doorways, false-doorways, and gateways of the Khmer

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[20] John Sanday, "The Triumphs and Perils of Khmer Architecture: A Structural Analysis of the Monuments of Angkor," in *Millennium of Glory*, ed. Helen Ibbitson Jessup and Thierry Zephir. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 81-92.

[21] This is typical for most temples, however, variations do exist.

[22] Siribhadra, Smitthi and Mayurie Veraprasert, *Lintels (Thaplang) (*Krom Sinlapākǭn: Thanākhān Thai Phānit, 1990), 37.
Siribhadra and Veraprasert suggest that laterite was popular during the Pre-Angkor period and resurged in popularity towards the end of the Angkor period around the construction of the Bayon.

prāsat are carved with a wide range of vegetal and garland motifs, mythical creatures, and Hindu and Buddhist divinities. The decorated lintel was one of the most persistent features of the Khmer *prāsat* and they are one of the main sources of evidence used to date Khmer temples of the Angkor period.[23]

While the overall Angkorian temple complex was intended to evoke a representation of the cosmic mountain, the lintels were necessary components for both the temple's architectural and religious function. It should be noted that there are two types of lintels, functional and decorative. Different scholarship elects to use these terms, at times, rather loosely which can result in confusion when considering the religious meaning attached to the temple sites and the necessary components of the temple complex. This terminology of "decorative" versus "functional" lintels is especially problematic when considering, as I do below, the use of these "decorative" lintels as markers of liminal space. I will refer to the "functional" lintels as "weight-bearing" lintels, while the "decorative" lintels are referenced as "decorated" or "carved" lintels.

A carved lintel is rectangular in format and is placed on top of a weight-bearing lintel.[24] The two lintel types would commonly be joined together using I-shaped pieces of iron inserted into I-shaped slots carved into the stone's surface.[25] The use of the weight-bearing lintels allows for structural support and the transmission of the weight of the building down towards the doorjambs.[26] While carved Khmer lintels frequently appear in museums and private collections, the weight-bearing counterparts often remain *in-situ*, still supporting the surviving structures and perhaps providing a direct link to the decorated lintels.[27]

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[23] Siribhadra and Veraprasert., 37.
[24] Ibid., 37.
[25] Ibid., 37.
[26] Ibid., 37.
[27] Ibid., 37.

Carved lintels, on the other hand, do not provide a weight bearing support for the building and are decorated with intricate vegetal motifs, Hindu or Buddhist subject matter, and common mythical creatures in Khmer art such as *singha* (lions), *nāga* (serpents), *kāla* (time), and *makara* (hybrid crocodilian creatures). Jacques Dumarçay and Pascal Royère have suggested that a typical Khmer temple and its exterior carvings, specifically the vegetal forms, are intended to emulate the appearance of a temple on festival day.[28] Therefore, the types of l garlands that occur on decorated lintels (see Appendix A6) are likely intended to represent everlasting versions of their ephemeral, organic counterparts.

Due to the abundance of sandstone in the Angkor region, it was the preferred material from which lintels were carved. While the development of lintel motifs and the location of Khmer temples shifted throughout Angkor's history, it appears that architects, sculptors, quarrymen, and masons could work on carvings without having been bound to a particular religious faith, and therefore would have been able to work across religious systems in order to complete the commissioned temple projects.[29] Evidence of the allocation of artistic labor and organization at Khmer temple sites is rare in epigraphic records.[30] When reference is made to artists, Michael Vickery has suggested that descriptions surround individuals or the administrative hierarchy under which the *prāsat* artists worked.[31] An inscription from the 12th

[28] Ibid., 27-28.
[29] Ibid., 37.
[30] Martin Polkinghorne, "Khmer decorative lintels and the allocation of artistic labor," *Arts Asiatiques* 63 (2008): 23.
Michael Vickery has suggested that crafts-people, possibly including artists, may have been referenced under the group identified as *camdak* attached to the temples. However, it is rare to find reference of Angkor period artists.
[31] Polkinghorne, 24.
Spiritual supervisors would typically oversee building projects to ensure the site was constructed in accordance to required ritual conditions. However, Polkinghorne has mentioned that it is

century of Sūryavarman II indicates that craftspeople were organized into four groups (or specialized units).[32]

The carving of these lintels appears to have been done after the blocks had been laid *in situ* at the temple site (however lintels could also be re-used from temples) .[33] Iron chisels have been found in and around sites surrounding *prāsats* in Thailand, suggesting that these may have been the tools used to carve the stone surface.[34] Polkinghorne suggests that the creation and carving of Khmer lintels was not accomplished by one individual working on an individual lintel, but instead a team of artisans.[35] Initial planning of the lintel's design is believed to have been done between a tracer and a sculptor. However, artisans specializing in sculpting both the rough composition and the detailed elements of the composition would have worked together to complete a single lintel.[36] The sandstone has been sourced to quarries located along the Kulen plateau, while laterite, in contrast, was quarried from areas proximate to the construction sites.[37] However, laterite could also be quarried from the Kulen plateau.

Yet, while these carved lintels do indeed decorate the temple site with their elaborate vegetal designs, they also fulfill another purpose. Placed above the temple entrances, the carved

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unknown how much influence these spiritual supervisors had on the decorative program of the lintels.

[32] Ibid., 25.

The K.470 inscription from the 14th century states that artists (and master architects) did receive payment of gold for their work on the Bayon.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 37.

[35] Ibid., 26.

[36] Polkinghorne, 26.

Artisans working to sculpt detail are believed to have been experts in specific facial features, bodies, jewelry, and architectural ornamentation. Yet, artists would have been aware of similar techniques and may have been informed by standardized training. Polkinghorne theorizes that training was acquired though a master-apprentice relationship instead of organizing in guilds.

[37] Jacques Dumarçay and Pascal Royère, *Cambodian Architecture, Eight to Thirteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 14.

lintels and the designs which appear on them were intended to demarcate liminal space between the mundane world and the realm of the gods.[38] Arnold Van Gennep's study of rites of passage suggests that movement through a doorway or the portal of a temple, such as the Khmer *prāsat*, indicates a passage from one world to the next.[39] In the case of the Khmer temple, the passage of the devotee moving through the gateways and doorways towards the temple's center, corresponds to the transition from the external, world of the living and into the progressively sacred world of the gods, with power concentrated at the center.

However, the passage from one world to the next is not simply achieved through the act of walking through the doorways into a shrine. Instead, each gateway must be demarcated and protected in order to ensure those attempting to enter the *prāsat* are permitted and prepared to do so. Therefore, the carved depictions of fantastic creatures guard these portals and turn away disruptive, evil, and/or unwanted forces from the temple.[40] These carvings are not only apotropaic in their function, but they are also intended to represent visualizations of the divine world also manifested by the *prasāt* and cult statues.

Vegetal motifs, garlands, and fantastic creatures

Vegetal forms are among the most common motifs found on decorated Khmer lintels. Mireille Bénisti suggests five classifications of vegetal forms that appear on Khmer art and architecture: the leaf of abundance, the scroll, the frieze of jutting leaves, the volute pendant leaf,

[38] Deena Ragavan, "Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World." (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2013).
[39] Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), 153.
[40] This is not only witnessed above the doorways, in the lintels, but also in other sculpture, such as the *nāga* balustrades and *singha* sculpture surrounding the temple complex.

and the garland.[41] Bénisti theorizes that the abundance of vegetal motifs in both Khmer and Indian art may relate to a symbolic relationship to the lotus flower with all parts of the plant used as decorative elements.[42] The first of Bénisti's five vegetal elements, the leaf of abundance, is observed in Khmer art as a leaf motif which gives rise to other vegetal elements. Depictions of the leaf of abundance differs from its South Asian counterpart, the *pūrnaghata* (vase of abundance) counterpart in Indian art that typically represents a vessel overflowing with vegetal motifs. For carvings that appear in Khmer architecture, this element is rare. When it does occur, however, it is typically seen emerging from the maw of a *makara*.

The scrolling pattern is evocative of a series of leaves and stems rolled into volutes that appear to be joined at a single stem.[43] This scrolling motif can often be found on lintels, typically below the central garland motif. The frieze of jutting leaves, as well as the volute pendant leaf, at times make their appearance in lintel design, however, it is more common to find these patterns on colonnettes, cornices of architecture, or other decorated bands that are not typically incorporated into the composition of a carved Khmer lintel.

The garland is the most enduring and consistent feature of carved Khmer lintels. The garland can be composed of pure vegetal motifs, or it can be comprised of a series of beads, flowers, tissue, or fantastic creatures.[44] Bénisti classifies these garlands into two types, the single and the double garland.[45] The single garland type is typical for decorated lintels.[46] The garland

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[41] Mireille Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2003), 52.
[42] Bénisti, 52.
[43] Bénisti, 55.
[44] Ibid., 66.
[45] Ibid., 66.
[46] Ibid., 66.
However, it can also appear on colonnettes and pedestals.

itself can vary in composition, shape of curves, presence or absence of decoration, and level of suspension. The multitude of variations for the central garland and their stylistic evolution has been a major diagnostic feature used for dating Khmer lintels. The second type, the double garland, is found only on lintels and is composed of two garlands; this type is sometimes referred to as a "superimposed double garland" or a "crossed double garland".[47] Examples of the superimposed double garland can be found on Preangkorian lintels from Sambor Prei Kuk, while the crossed double garland type is found on lintels from Kuk Roka.[48] In addition to these five major vegetal types, Khmer lintels also display other botanical elements. Specifically, in the area above the central garland (see Appendix A6 and A9), we see large, flame-shaped leaves (or dentate leaves), jutting leaves, or florets.[49]

Often inseparable from these vegetal motifs are *makara, singha,* and *nāgas* which can be found in the decoration of Khmer lintels. Crocodilian-elephant-fish hybrids, *makara* are commonly depicted ejecting vegetal motifs and beaded garlands from their open jaws. Their bodies are truncated to merely a head and a tail that can take on a leaf-like appearance and may be surmounted by an anthropomorphic figure.[50] When they occur in lintel designs, the *makara* are typically located at the ends of the lintel either facing towards or away from one another.[51] In Pre-Angkorian art, *makara* typically faced inward toward each other, however, during the

[47] Ibid., 67.
[48] Ibid., 103.
While Kuk Roka is a late-Angkorian temple, it re-used lintels from the Pre-Angkorian period. The crossed double garland type at Kuk Roka appears to be from the pre-Angkorian period.
[49] Ibid., 103
[50] Siribhadra and Veraprasert., 39.
[51] Ibid., 102.
They may also be found placed inside of an arch.

transitional period of Kulen and Preah Ko, and into the Angkor period, the *makara* motif changes to face outward.[52]

Singha (lions) found in Khmer lintels are located in several locations. They can simply inhabit the vegetation of the lintel, or they can be found at the terminating ends of the central garland, or at the garland's midpoint, at times, like the *makara*, disgorging the central garland from their jaws.[53] They can also be found flanking a central *kāla* motif (discussed below). *Nāga* (serpents/cobras) are equally abundant in lintel carvings. Their role in lintels are not as prominent as their use on tympana, antefixes, and balustrades, but instead appear to be intertwined with the scrolling vegetal forms or garlands. In some examples, such as in the Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel (see Appendix A6), the central garland terminates into a three-headed *nāga* on either end.

While the theories by Van Gannep explore the relationship of movement between doorways or other portals that exist at a societal and devotional level, the motifs present on Khmer lintels fulfill a specific role. Stella Kramrisch has observed that the carvings on South Asian temples (as well as temples in Southeast Asia) are intended to enrich and illustrate the meaning of the site.[54] However, while the motifs may represent real-world creatures, such as *haṃsa* (geese) and *singha*, or other organic forms, the representation of animals and human figures are not decorative illustrations of the visible, mundane world, but instead serve as

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[52] It is often argued that the change to the outward-facing *makara* motif may have been the result of Javanese influence. The *makara* may also have horns which is theorized to also be a feature of Javanese art.
Gilberte de Coral-Rémusat, "Animaux fantastiques de l'Indochine, de l'Insulinde et de la Chine," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 427-435.
[53] They may also be depicted clutching the ends of the central garland.
[54] Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 322.

visualizations of the unseen world in their respective locations such as doorways.[55] Representations of these creatures and gods are intended to evoke the concealed realm that the participant is moving into as they enter the temple complex. The portals, despite having static, perennial carvings, are intended to represent the constant and active dynamics of these transitional spaces. While Pascal and Royére have suggested that the vegetal elements carved on the surface of Khmer lintels are intended to represent temples on festival day or representations of real-world garland making traditions, the perspective of Kramricsh would also suggest that these vegetal forms are simultaneously representations of abundance that is constantly flowing forth from the temple.

The kāla in Khmer lintels

In addition to vegetal patterns, the *kāla* is a second integral motif in Angkorian art. The *Kîrttimukha* (Face of Glory) commonly occurs in Khmer lintels. Commonly referenced as a *kāla*, this creature, whose name translates to "time", plays a significant role in expressing the transitional aspects of Khmer portals. The development of the *kāla* motif in Khmer art is also important for considering the evolution of lintel styles. The *kāla* motif rarely appears during the Pre-Angkorian period, however it became an enduring feature of the Angkorian period.[56] The *kāla* is typically depicted as having a face with no body and an open mouth (often with no lower jaw present). At times, the *kāla* may be depicted with hands. Among these variations, the *kāla* may be rendered clutching onto the central garland with its hands or mouth. It usually occurs in the direct center of the lintel, dividing the central garland in half. A variation exists in which the

[55] Kramrisch, 322.
[56] Siribhadra and Veraprasert., 39.

kāla supports a figure (see Appendix A11 and A14). Such figures are typically identified as deities or a *dikpālas*. In examples where the *kāla* is absent from the center of the lintel, another figure or narrative may be present, as can be seen, for example, on the lintel portraying *Viṣṇu on Garuda* (see Appendix A6).

Kāla are directly associated with Śiva in Hindu mythology and, specifically, in Khmer art, *Kāla* can also represent *Rahu*, a *Danava* (anti-god) who attempted to steal the amrita (elixir of immortality) from the famed Churning of the Ocean of Milk.[57] However, *Rahu* was foiled in his attempt by Viṣṇu, who severed his head from his body. Having consumed some of the *amrita* before being defeated by Viṣṇu, *Rahu* remained immortal and is often recognized as the reason for solar and lunar eclipses which are swallowed momentarily and pass through the jaws of the famed *Danava*.[58] By placing the *kāla/Rahu* motif at the center of lintels above the doorways, the symbolism of entering the mouth of the creature symbolizes both the presence of immortality of the temple itself and time.[59]

Dikpāla, deities, and epics

General, humanoid, figures can commonly be identified as a *dikpāla* (guardian of the directions) or as deities depending on the presence of a *vāhana* (animal mount) or other identifiable attributes (see Appendix A11). The presence of a *dikpāla* would typically correlate with the orientation of the temple towards the cardinal directions.[60] In certain instances, such as the lintel fragment (see Appendix A11), a figure surmounting a *kāla* is believed to be a

[57] Sokuntheary So, "Chapter IV: Decoration Applies On Drain's Outlet (gargoyle)" in *Study on the Drainage System of the Bayon Temple in the Angkor Thom* (Cambodia, 2007), 85-87.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Roveda, 192-193.

representation of Viśvakarman. However, in Khmer art, the identity of figures can be ambiguous and missing attributes can complicate interpretation.

The *kāla* motif may be completely absent from the composition of lintels. In some examples (see Appendix A9), figures often inhabit the entire central scene.[61] Variations exist in which a deity (with or without a *vāhana*) occupies the entirety of the central composition. In some instances, for example in the Bakheng style (after 893-ca. 925), there are lintels in which the vegetal motifs are completely absent and depictions of deities and architectural elements fill the entire space of the lintel.

In addition to a dominant central deity, examples also occur in which a deity or other anthropomorphic figures are portrayed in a specific narrative. These narratives are commonly derived from Hindu and Buddhist narrative traditions as the *Ramayana*, *Mahābhārata*, or life of the Buddha. Scenes from the *Ramayana* were popular throughout the Angkor period. However, an entire visual presentation of the *Ramayana* in relief is not found at any Khmer temple site. Instead, it appears as though scenes of conflict or combat were given preference. This tendency may express some connections between the use of the *Ramayana* at Khmer *prāsats* and connections to Khmer kingship and power.[62] This can also be observed though the prevalence of Kṛṣṇa scenes, notably during the Baphuon period (ca. 1010-ca. 1080) when images of Kṛṣṇa Govardhana were common.[63]

Both Hindu and Buddhist lintels may exist simultaneously at a single temple site. For example, at Prasat Phimai, *Ramayana* and Kṛṣṇa scenes exist alongside the Buddhist lintels.[64]

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[61] At times, a Garuda without Viṣṇu may also appear at the center of a lintel.
[62] Boreth Ly, "Protecting the Protector of Phimai," in *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, 64/65, (2006/2007): 35-48.
[63] Siribhadra and Veraprasert., 37.
[64] Piriya Krairiksh, *Roots of Thai Art* (Bangkok: River Books, 2012), 309-321.

While the mystery of Prasat Phimai's original visual program remains contested (in-part due to the modern-day re-construction of the site), the prevalence of Buddhist, Rama, and Kṛṣṇa scenes appears to evoke themes of conflict and conquest which may relate to the reign of Jayavarman VI (r. ca. 1080-1107 CE).[65] However, unconnected (or separate) Buddhist and Hindu narratives never appear on the same lintel. When Buddhist and Hindu images appear together in the same pictorial space, it is not piecemeal and occurs in order to communicate a specific reason and message. For example, a lintel depicting Kṛṣṇa would not also contain a depiction of the Buddha in the same relief participating in separate narratives. However, certain anomalies regarding the combination of religious figures into a single relief do exist. Chapter three considers a relief from the JYMA and the possibility that two, unrelated, deities have been combined in a single relief.

Methodology for Chronology

The stylistic interpretive methods for dating Khmer art, specifically sandstone sculptures and temple styles, were developed primarily by early French scholars including Jean Boisselier, Philippe Stern, Madeline Giteau, Pierre Dupont, and George Groslier. In addition, Coral Remusat and Bénisti have contribute to the scholarship of stylistic dating for Khmer art and architecture. Their interpretive frameworks have been foundational for the study of Khmer art and have remained the generally accepted methods also employed by subsequent scholars engaging with the Angkor period. The developments of style throughout the Angkor period are understood by scholars in relation to known Angkorian temple sties. Dating of temples based on inscriptional evidence and the appearance of specific stylistic features found *in situ* in the reliefs and architectural components drive this interpretive framework. Utilizing this chronology has

[65] Betty Gosling, *Origins of Thai Art* (Thailand: River Books, 2004), 134-135.

been effective in dating the surviving temples of the Angkor period, but it has also been a valuable method when attempting to assign a date to lintels, statuary, and other sandstone artworks off-site and in museums and private collections. Chapter two of this thesis explores the importance of this method for dating, dealing specifically with the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel which has received an inaccurate date of the 10th century Bakheng style assigned by the HoMA.

While the French scholarship of Khmer art typically favors the linear progression of Khmer history out of the Angkor period and into the present day (connecting modern-day Khmer culture), Thai scholarship maintains a tendency to argue against this strong heritage association, as it is also recognized as a moment in Thailand's own history. Because the Angkorian empire engulfed an overwhelming majority of Southeast Asia's mainland territories, *prāsats* and other archaeological evidence of Angkor's territorial control survive in regions of in modern-day northeastern Thailand.[66] While it is undeniable that the Angkorian empire existed in these modern-day northeastern regions of Thailand, the development of Khmer art outside of the central capital can, at times, be overlooked or oversimplified without consideration for variations which existed in the periphery regions. Road networks extending into regions of northeastern Thailand carried with them the artistic styles of Angkor, however, regional preference allowed for fluidity in the stylistic program and subject matter of lintels. Chapter three of this thesis examines the role these networks and regional styles may have played in a rather unique central composition from the 11th century, seemingly connected to the Baphuon style.

[66] Preah Vihear which now rests on the modern-day Thai-Cambodian border remains the most heavily contested site of both Cambodian (Khmer) and Thai heritage.

CHAPTER 2

THE VIṢṆU ON GARUDA LINTEL FROM THE HONOLULU MUSEUM OF ART

This chapter focuses on the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel in the Honolulu Museum of Art collection (see Appendix A6, A6a, A6b, and A6c).[67] In the HoMA records and on the current label, the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel has been given a simplistic and, in fact, imprecise identification as a representation of the 10th century CE Bakheng style.[68] However, closer examination of its key motifs and stylistic elements suggests that the date for this lintel should be changed to mid-to-late 10th century instead of the general 10th century attribution of the Bakheng style. The HoMA lintel should therefore not be identified with a pure Bakheng style (which dates to ca. after 893-ca.925 CE) but should instead be classified as a transitional style of Koh Ker (ca. 921-945 CE) into Pre Rup (947-ca.965 CE).

Introduction and general assessments of the Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel in HoMA gallery 24

The *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel (see Appendix A6) lintel is currently installed above the doorway in the HOMA's Southeast Asian Art gallery (gallery 24) leading into the Indonesian gallery (gallery 25). The installation approach has also been used for a *Hamsa* lintel in the Indian gallery (gallery 23) and a *Kāla* lintel in the Indonesian gallery (gallery 25). The placement of these lintels above the gallery doorways appears to have been a design choice to simplistically re-create the lintels (in their assumed original context) above gateways, doorways, and false

[67] See Chapter Four and Appendix A for discussion regarding the other JYMA lintels.
[68] In identifying this lintel as an example of the Bakheng style, the HOMA provides an approximate 10th century CE date instead of using specific Bakheng style dates of ca. after 893-ca. 925 CE.

doorways at temple sites (see Appendix A1 and fig.2.1).[69] However, the difficulty with the placement of the lintel above the doorway, as well as the placement of the gallery lighting, is that it prevents the viewer from being able to see the details of the lintel. In addition, the label text that accompanies this lintel is vague and does not relate the installation of the lintel to its original context as a necessary element of Angkorian temple architecture. Instead the label states:

> At the center of this massive lintel is the Hindu god Viṣṇu riding on his vehicle, Garuda, the mythical half-man, half-bird. While the figure of Viṣṇu has largely disappeared, Garuda's beak, face, and wings are clearly visible.[70]

The label therefore misses a crucial opportunity to explain to the museum visitor the purpose and importance of these lintels during the Angkor period as necessary components of the temple architectural program. Second, the HoMA has chosen to provide a general summary of Viṣṇu and Garuda but does not go further to specify the significance of Viṣṇu and Garuda in the Angkorian religious milieu. Third, and perhaps the most important for the purposes of this discussion, the HoMA identifies this lintel as an example of the Bakheng style from the 10th century, however, there is no mention of what characteristics define this style or what features indicate that this lintel should be assigned to it. The author of the label has also avoided any discussion of the importance of Angkor temple styles for understanding Angkorian art and its chronology.[71]

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[69] The display of lintels above doorways in museum galleries is a common practice. The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco also exhibits their Khmer lintels in a similar fashion.
[70] Honolulu Museum of Art label for *Viṣṇu on Garuda* (6699.1), last accessed November 13, 2015
[71] For an expanded discussion of Khmer lintels in regard to their function, popular motifs, and considerations of dating, see Chapter 1.

A historical overview of the Bakheng period and the religious environment

The religious milieu of Angkor was a mix of autochthonous, local Khmer belief, including veneration of *neak ta* (spirits of place), with the favored state religion of either Hinduism or Buddhism with Śivaism as the predominant religion for the kings of Angkor.[72] However, it is also the case that the elite religion during the Angkor period experienced moments of blending between Hindu and Buddhist faiths.[73] During the shift of the capital to Angkor (then called Yashodarapura) and to Phnom Bakheng by Yashovarman I (r.889-early 10th century), the religion appears to have been primarily focused on Śivaism, but Kamaleswar Bhattacharya has suggested that it is during this reign that we witness hybrid blending, or what he calls "syncretism", between the religions of Śivaism, Vaishnavism, and Buddhism.[74]

It is also during the reign of Yashovarman I that the *prāsat* on top of the Phnom Bakheng was built and dedicated in approximately 907.[75] The *prāsat* was dedicated to Yashodharesvara, however, there is reference to 108 divinities also having been installed at and around the temple

[72] Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "The Religions of Ancient Cambodia," in *Millennium of Glory*, ed. Helen Jessup and Thierry Zephir (New York: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1997), 34-43.
[73] Bhattacharya, 34-43.
Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Religious Syncretism in Ancient Cambodia," in *Dharmadūta*: mélanges offerts au venerable Thich Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième. 1-12.
[74] Ibid., 43.
While Bhattacharya refers to this process as "syncretism", this term is problematic because, among other things, it may indicate an equal blending of each religion into the other. At Angkor, the religious milieu was indeed hybrid in nature, however, the configuration of these Buddhist and Hindu religions with Angkor's pre-existing belief systems resulted in various configurations of hybridity.
Paul A. Lavy, "Syncretism in Buddhist Architecture of Southeast Asia," in *Cambridge World History of Religious Architecture*, ed. Richard Etlin. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press).
[75] Phnom Bakheng Workshop on Public Interpretation: Angkor Park, (Siem Reap, Cambodia: December 4-6, 2005), 23-38.

site.[76] This temple site is associated with the inception of the Bakheng style which will be discussed later in this paper. After Yashovarman's death and during the transitional period of rule, Viṣṇuism appears to have enjoyed a brief revival among some Angkorian elites. The temple of Prasat Kravan, founded in 921 and late Bakheng in style, is a Viṣṇuite temple site and will be one of the points of comparison for assigning a date to our HoMA lintel.

Damage, defacing, and repairs

While the display of the lintel in the Southeast Asian gallery offers the visitor little information about the relief, the HoMA's records provide an extended biography of the lintel while it has been in Hawai'i . According to the museum's database records, the sandstone relief once had damage that was repaired at the Pacific Regional Conservation Center (PRCC).[77] No date is provided to indicate when these repairs were made, nor is it specified whether or not the repairs were completed while the lintel was in the possession of John Young or after having been accessioned into the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1991.

A photograph from the HoMA's records documents the state of the lintel while it was still installed at the John Young residence.[78] Due to its poor quality, it is difficult to make out the

[76] The name, Yashodharesvara, unites the name of Yashovarman I with "Ishvara", which commonly refers to Śiva.
[77] Founded in 1974 by Anthony Werner, the Pacific Regional Conservation Center (PRCC) was a conservation center that was part of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i The center is now called The Department of Art Conservation of Bishop Museum. The conservation department has decreased in size and now only works with the Bishop Museum collections. The Honolulu Museum of Art archives may contain some further information and clarity regarding the date of repair. http://www.bishopmuseum.org/research/conservation.html (last accessed November 13, 2015).
[78] This lintel, like the majority of John Young's large Khmer sandstone sculptures, was kept outside in his garden. Several HoMA photographs reveal the specific locations where John Young displayed his collection at his private residence.

details of the lintel at that time. However, bright-white patches over the central lintel scene might indicate original cracks or breaks that were later repaired and better disguised.[79] These patches of white (possibly cemented) areas, are no longer present in the present-day state of the lintel. This suggests that the patching that appears in the photograph may have been undone or re-touched under the PRCC conservation.[80]

A close examination of the shape of the lintel also reveals that the top portion of the lintel has been removed between the time the photograph was taken and when it was installed in the Honolulu Academy of Art's Southeast Asian gallery.[81] The photograph reveals more of the upper register than what survives today. It is difficult to discern in the photograph whether this is part of the original sandstone relief, or if it is a portion of concrete filling. In this thin, upper register there is a row of what appears to be eight anthropomorphic figures (fig. 2.2). Each of the eight figures is surrounded by an undulating archway and separated by a repeating floral bud motif. Despite the new high resolution photographs of the upper register, it is still unclear what the

[79] It is also possible that the lintel may have, at one point, been broken into separate fragments and later repaired. In order to confirm this theory, back and side views of the lintel are needed (there are no on record at the HoMA), or the lintel would have to be taken out of its mount and the back of the work inspected.

[80] Until a definite answer can be found in the Honolulu Museum of Art's records, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact time when repairs were conducted. In addition, another Khmer lintel from John Young's collection, *Lintel with a figure over a Kîrttimukha (Mask of Glory)*, depicting a figure over a kāla (6698.1),was repaired and tinted by the Honolulu Academy of Art's former Installation Manager, Fumio Kaneko. Kaneko, however, was not trained in art conservation or art restoration. The HoMA's records do not indicate whether Kaneko had a hand in altering the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel, however, it is a possibility considering his work on the other lintel fragment.

[81] There do not appear to have been any noticeable changes to the left, right, and bottom portion of the relief. It also does not appear as though the missing portion is somehow still in-tact behind the object mounting.

figures are doing (kneeling or dancing). In the state of the upper register as it exists today, all of the faces of the eight figures are missing.[82]

The pose of these figures is also difficult to clarify. A lintel from Prasat Sralao now in the National Museum of Cambodia (fig. 2.3) contains a band of similar figures. While they are greater in number and all appear to be facing the same direction, the positioning of the figures corresponds to what we see in the HoMA's lintel. The posture of these figures is often interpreted as kneeling. Yet, the raised hands are also evocative of what is sometimes identified as a dancing posture. A gilt bronze finial from the Honolulu Museum of Art's collection (fig. 2.4) depicts a dancing figure cast fully in the round that echoes the postures seen in both the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel (Appendix A6) and the lintel from the National Museum of Cambodia (fig. 2.3) The headdresses worn by these figures, which could provide further information helpful for establishing a date, are unfortunately no longer preserved. The eight figures are wearing a costume with an anchor fold or a double anchor fold but, again, the poor condition of this portion of the lintel prevents any conclusions from being drawn.

Recent high resolution photographs of the lintel (see Appendix A6) clarify that it is not only the central figure of *Viṣṇu on Garuda* that has been damaged, but that there are also various cracks throughout the central scene. A photograph of the proper left lower portion of the lintel reveals, long, diagonal cracks that extend downward to the base of the central Garuda figure. Similar cracks appear across the central Viṣṇu image and cut through the conch and neck of the figure. There is also a purposeful gouging out of the face of Viṣṇu that differs from the other

[82] This damage may have occurred during repairs or alteration to the upper portion of the lintel. Alternatively, this could be possible defacement by iconoclasts or by art dealers. The original cause is uncertain. However, it is important to note that the central Viṣṇu figure has also been defaced.

cracks. The figure of Viṣṇu does survive from the shoulders down. His fully intact legs are in a crouching position on the shoulders of Garuda, who, with his proper left hand, clutches each of Viṣṇu's knees. A long, diagonal fissure also extends from the knees of Garuda downward and to the proper right portion of the lintel. Areas where the lintel appears to have been completely broken include the proper right portion with terminating *nāga* figures at the end of the garland. It appears to have completely broken away from the rest of the lintel and required reattachment in order to maintain the original symmetry of the lintel. On the opposite end of the lintel (proper left), two of the three terminating *nāga* figures are now missing.

Most of the cracks to the lintel do not complicate the stylistic analysis of the vegetal and garland motifs, however, the absence of Viṣṇu's head and the heads of the eight figures in the upper register do provide some obstacles to precise interpretation and accurate dating of the relief. An analysis of the lintel in regards to dating will consider the central garland and vegetal motifs, the appearance of Viṣṇu and specifically Garuda, and the role of the eight seated figures at the top of the lintel. The remainder of this chapter seeks to clarify the stylistic attribution and date given to the HoMA lintel.

The Preah Ko style

In the process of re-assessing the date for the HoMA lintel, we must first consider and rule out the Preah Ko style which came before the Bakheng style. An attribution to the Preah Ko style appears to be too early for this lintel. For example, fig. 2.5 & 2.6, reflecting the Preah Ko style do not match with the lintel decoration from the HoMA. In fig. 2.5, a lintel in the Musée Guimet, we see a lintel which contains various elements not present in the HoMA's assumed Bakheng style lintel. While both share an image of Viṣṇu on Garuda, the pair are accompanied in

figure 2.5 by flanking *kāla* spewing forth abundance as an undulating central garland which is wrapped around the arms of the *kālas* and Garuda. In the HoMA lintel, Garuda is supporting Viṣṇu and holding his legs instead of the garland. The Garuda in fig. 2.5 is also forward facing in contrast to the HoMA Garuda who is taking a stride to the right with his proper right leg forward. In addition, the Musée Guimet lintel exhibits much denser vegetal patterning than the HoMA lintel.

Some elements of the HoMA lintel are present in a Preah Ko style lintel from the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2.6) such as the central garland transforming into terminating, three-headed *nāga*. However, the *nāga* on the lintel fragment from the Cleveland Museum of Art face outward instead of inward like the ones in the HoMA lintel. The Cleveland Garuda is also seen clutching the tails of the *nāga*-garland hybrid instead of simply appearing in front of the garland as he does in the HoMA example. The flaming, leaf-like patterns above the central garland are rather consistent with the HoMA relief in regards to the direction of their movement and the curl of the volutes, yet the shape of the leaves themselves is completely different. The flame-like leaves in the Preah Ko style tend to be more elaborate and defined, while the HoMA leaves are much more simplified. This is also true for the leaves and tendrils below the central garland, despite curling inward towards the central scene, which corresponds with the HoMA lintel. Yet, the overall style of these Preah Ko lintels is not consistent enough with the HoMA example to suggest even a potential attribution to an earlier Preah Ko style.

The Bakheng style

Despite some heavy abrasions to the lintel, the appearance of Garuda and other surviving motifs are extremely valuable in the discussion of style and dating, and they raise significant

questions concerning the Bakheng style attribution given by the HoMA. It is unknown how or on what basis the HoMA has reached this identification for the lintel or whether this information accompanied the lintel with Young's records once it was accessioned into the HAA in 1991. The most likely theory is that the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel exhibits enough visual qualities that could, in theory, connect it to the Bakheng style. However, considerations of transitional styles and in this instance, the transitional styles which come after the Bakheng, such as the Koh Ker style, do not seem to have been considered until now.

According to Jean Boisselier, the Bakheng lintel style dates to ca. 893 – 927 CE and can be characterized by the following features:

> . . . la composition semble obéir à une volonté de hiérarchie, les linteaux des sanctuaries et des accès honorés montrant une composition plus riche (traditions du style de Preah Kô) que ceux des édifices secondaires. Consoles et bandeaux deviennent minuscules.[83]

The discussion of the lintel style by Boisselier is short and relates specifically to the evolution of the Preah Ko style into the Bakheng style. The sketch provided by Boisselier in *Le Cambodge* to typify the Bakheng style (fig. 2.7) includes motifs that seem to correspond to the HoMA's lintel. While the central motif from Boisselier's example depicts Indra atop Airavata, rather than Viṣṇu and Garuda, the vegetal motifs are related. The central garland shares the same pattern of alternating densely packed vegetal segments and rings of single-banded floral motifs. The vegetal motifs above and below the central garland also curl in matching directions. Another distinctive feature of the Bakheng style shared by HoMA lintel is the strong, horizontal line separating the thin upper register of eight kneeling figures from the lower register comprising the main scene.

[83] Boisselier, 152.

There are also features of the HoMA lintel that differ from the Bakheng style. While the sketch used by Boisselier does not reveal what would have appeared on the terminating ends of the central garland, there appears to be triangular features on either side of the HoMA lintel where there are inward facing, three-headed *nāgas*. This appears to be a rather rare feature of Bakheng style lintels as well as transitional lintels between the Bakheng and Koh Ker styles. In addition, as discussed above, the thin register at the top of the lintel contains a series of eight kneeling figures that are not part of the composition of the Bakheng lintel drawing. On the other hand, the third register that comprises the lower portion of the Bakheng Indra lintel is not a feature of the HoMA's *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel, at least in the condition in which it survives today. Instead, the composition of the HoMA lintel seems to purposefully terminate with the curling, vegetal motifs in the lower register and does not continue into a third, architectural base or register. However, due to the removal of the lintel from its original site and the cutting of the bottom portion of the lintel, this cannot be judged with certainty.

Siribhadra and Veraprasert also provides discussion of the features of Bakheng style lintels.[84] Dating the style from after 893 to ca. 925, they identify the following characteristics of lintels in the Bakheng style:

> Motifs depicted on the lintels of this style imitate those of the former styles. That is, both ends of the garland shown in the middle of the lintel curve outward to form leaves. Depicted on some lintels is a garuda seated on a nāga head and sometimes the garland is divided by designs. In the middle of the garland is a devata seated on a kala face or Indra mounted on Airavata. Foliage motifs appear above, and below are curling leaves. The upper edge is a row of flowers. The motifs of this period are less complex than those of the former periods. A human figure on the garland and in the foliage design becomes less frequent and finally disappears. The bases on which rest the ends of the garland and which serve as the capitals of the colonnettes and the lotus petal band which joins both bases becomes smaller in size.[85]

[84] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 41.
[85] Ibid, 41.

Siribhadra and Veraprasert also reference the Indra on Airavata lintel sketch from Prasat Phnom Bakheng. However, Siribhadra and Veraprasert make note of another feature seen in the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel, not mentioned by Boisselier, in which the central figure divides the overall design of the principal garland and background vegetal motifs in half.

An additional example of a Bakheng lintel discussed by Siribhadra and Veraprasert is from Wat Prang Thong in the Muang district of Nakhon Ratchasima province (fig. 2.8). This lintel, while much shallower in carving compared to the deep carving of the HoMA's lintel, also has an image of Viṣṇu and Garuda which takes up the entire central space and creates a lateral divide between the right and left half of the lintel. The example from Wat Prang Thong is, however, poorly photographed; the upper register of the lintel is obscured, and one cannot confirm or deny the presence of (eight) kneeling figures. The inward facing three-headed *nāgas* seen on the HoMA lintel are, however, present in the Wat Prang Thong lintel but the *nāgas* appear to have vegetal-like headdresses instead of the HoMA lintel's unadorned *nāgas*. Despite the quality of the photograph of the Wat Prang Thong lintel, it does appear that the central garland is, in fact, two *nāga* tails being held at the ends by the central Garuda figure.

The Garuda present in the HoMA lintel remains a prominent factor in the stylistic analysis of this lintel. While there are overall similarities in the HoMA lintel to the Bakheng period style, the central Garuda image diverges from typical depictions of Viṣṇu's *vāhana* during this time. The Viṣṇu on Garuda scene at the center of the HoMA lintel, particularly Garuda, is an important clue that indicates a later date. The previous examples of Garuda do not look like the one from the HoMA. The HoMA's Garuda is robust and supports Viṣṇu with both hands striding forward to the figure's proper right. This Garuda is depicted with an abundance of accoutrements such as armbands, ear spools, a chest decoration, and a diadem. In addition, this Garuda has twin

wings that will be important for the suggested dating of a transitional period between Bakheng and Koh Ker.

The change of the central garland into two *nāgas* being held by Garuda is also seen in an example from Prasat Phnom Wan from the Muang district, Nakhon Ratchasima province (fig. 2.9). The lintels from the HoMA, Wat Prang Thong, and the Prasat Phnom Wan portray a robust Garuda supporting Viṣṇu. The Wat Prang Thong Garuda also shares the same stance, although reversing the direction of the stride, as the one seen in the HoMA's collection. However, it should be noted that the HoMA's Garuda supports Viṣṇu with his hands instead of clutching the tails of the two *nāgas* as seen in the other two lintels or grasping the underside of the central garland as seen in the earlier Preah Ko example (fig. 2.6). Another feature distinguishes the HoMA Garuda from the other two Bakheng examples and from earlier examples generally, most of which portray him with human arms and no wings. The HoMA Garuda, in contrast, is depicted with both arms and outstretched wings. The differences enumerated here between the Bakheng style and the HoMA lintel -- which include the layout of the registers, differences in some motif designs, and the presence of the kneeling figures in the top register -- suggest that the Bakheng style attribution is not as certain as the label text suggests. The Bakheng style is probably too early for this lintel and a later date needs to be considered. Elements of the HoMA lintel, specifically depictions of Garuda, emulate the Koh Ker style and elements from Prasat Kravan and Pre Rup.

Prasat Kravan, Koh Ker, & Pre Rup Considerations

Prasat Kravan (consecrated in 921CE), which was dedicated to Viṣṇu, provides us with some stylistic features that reflect the HoMA Viṣṇu on Garuda type and may help us in

identifying a later date in the 10th century for the museum's relief. Prasat Kravan was a five-towered, temple and, unlike some of the earlier discussed sites, was commissioned by a group of Angkorian dignitaries instead of being associated with a specific Khmer ruler.[86] The revival of Viṣṇu as a favored deity for Angkorian officials occurred during the interim period after Yaśovarman's death.[87] It is perhaps during this time of turmoil when elite classes, such as the Khmer dignitaries who constructed Prasat Kravan, may have potentially sought to align themselves with Yaśovarman's previous reign. Through specific engagement with Prasat Kravan's construction by this group of individuals, we witness a temple site that simultaneously emulates certain elements of the prior Bakheng style (c. 893-925CE), while also incorporating new stylistic developments unique to this temple site. Prasat Kravan is a valuable temple site to compare with the HoMA lintel as it begins to strengthen the claim that lintel styles throughout the 10th century reflect various degrees of stylistic hybridity. The potential for lintels over the course of the 10th century to not only emulates prior temple styles, but also visually represent the political relationships in which elites sought to associate themselves with earlier periods of political control over the Angkorian empire.

When comparing the Garuda depicted on the lintel from HoMA with an interior relief depicting the half-man-half-bird from Prasat Kravan (fig. 2.10), we can identify stronger stylistic connections than what was depicted in the Bakheng style. In the relief from Prasat Kravan, we see a Garuda supporting Viṣṇu in almost the same position in which Garuda, with one leg striding forward before the other, clutches the knees of the god on his shoulders. However, in the Prasat Kravan example, the Garuda is striding towards the proper right and in the reverse

[86] Bhattacharya, 43.
[87] Ibid., 43.

direction of the HoMA Garuda.[88] This Garuda from Prasat Kravan relief also wears fewer adornments than the HoMA example.

A lintel depicting a *Viṣṇu on Garuda* scene also appears at Prasat Kravan (fig. 2.11). The overall scene appears to reflect the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel from the HoMA, however, the Garuda is again clutching two *nāgas* instead of appearing in front of the central garland supporting the legs of Viṣṇu. These *nāgas* are also held, one in each arm, instead of being clutched by their tails, which was seen in the prior Bakheng style examples. This relief also has a thin upper strip of figures. They are not the same eight figures in the HoMA example, however, the presence of an upper register is significant in our considerations.[89] The surrounding foliage patterns are almost an exact match to the HoMA lintel with the exception of descending tassels interspersed along the base of the lintel between the curving foliate forms. The Garuda seen at Prasat Kravan is also less robust than the HoMA and Koh Ker depictions of Garuda.

It therefore appears that the lintel from the HoMA is neither an example of the pure Bakheng style, nor a lintel which could have originated from Prasat Kravan, despite strong similarities in the composition of *Viṣṇu on Garuda* from the temple's main interior shrine. The style of the Garuda, in particular, is the basis for pushing the dating of the HoMA lintel even further into the mid-10th century to around the Koh Ker style (c. 921-ca. 945 CE) and the Pre Rup style (947- ca. 965 CE). While it is not a lintel, the free-standing Garuda from Prasat Thom

[88] At this point of analysis, it is uncertain whether or not the direction of Garuda's stride is important for specific style. An example of a Viṣṇu on Garuda from Banteay Srei depicts a Viṣṇu on Garuda with Garuda striding in the same proper right direction. However, the overall style of Banteay Srei lintels is much more ornate than the HOMA's lintel, suggesting that the HoMA lintel is not that late in date.

[89] Unlike the HoMA lintel, these figures are depicted in an adorant, or worshiping, position.

at Koh Ker, and today in the National Museum of Phnom Penh (fig. 2.12), is perhaps the best stylistic fit for the *Garuda* from the HoMA relief.

The National Museum's Garuda is consistent in the accoutrements he wears, the presence of arms and up-turned back wings, and a forward-striding stance towards the proper right. All these elements are consistent with what is observed in the HoMA lintel. While the National Museum Garuda does not carry Viṣṇu upon his shoulders (perhaps accounting for the difference in arm positioning), the stylistic features of this Garuda, representative of the Koh Ker style, provide a convincing argument that the HoMA lintel has a greater sense of alignment with the Koh Ker period versus an earlier Bakheng date. However, while the central figure of Garuda is key in understanding a possible connection to the Koh Ker period, the vegetal elements of the lintel do not necessarily align with the Koh Ker lintel style.

A lintel from Prachin Buri now in the National Museum in Prachin Buri (fig. 2.13) contains figures that somewhat resemble the register of eight figures in the HoMA lintel, however, the dentate (flame-like) leaves and specifically, the vegetal forms below the central garland, curve in the opposite direction of the vegetal forms in the HoMA lintel. The central garland also appears to terminate with a flourish and curling tendril beneath the profile heads of Airavata, while in the HoMA relief, the central garland is continuous and runs behind the central scene. Another lintel, from Prasat Damrei 269 on Phnom Kulen in Cambodia (fig. 2.14), shares the depth of carving present in the HoMA lintel, as well as the corresponding direction of the vegetal forms, however, again we witness the dipping-down of the central garland in front of Airavata instead of placing the central garland behind the *vahana*. In addition, the botanical motifs are much thinner, and perhaps slightly more detailed than what is seen in the HoMA relief.

In summary, it appears that the HoMA relief may be one that reflects a process of transitional style or hybridity. While it is clear that the central Garuda figure convincingly parallels the Koh Ker style (c. 921-ca.945) for depicting Garuda, the remainder of the lintel does not seem to match the Koh Ker lintel style. The style of Koh Ker originated from the establishment of a rival power center to the north east of Angkor by Jayavarman IV (r.928-941 CE).[90] While Koh Ker is utilized as the modern name for the center, Koh Ker is identified in inscriptions as Lingapura or Chok Gargyan.[91] Jayavarman IV is frequently characterized as an usurper, however, Charles Higham has suggested the situation to be of greater complexity in which Jayavarman IV may have held a legitimate claim to rule through marriage.[92] Despite confusion in the process of Jayavarman IV's ascent to rule, he established his own power center in northern modern-day Cambodia (approximately 120km) outside of Angkor.

The art and architecture of Koh Ker is massive in size, towering above anything found at Angkor's capital. The similarities between the Koh Ker Garuda from the National Museum of Cambodia and the Garuda in the HoMA lintel are strong, however, the political and artistic developments which occur after Jayavarman IV's death, specifically the reign of Rajendravarman (r.944-968CE) and the Pre Rup style may finally resolve the issues in dating the HoMA lintel. Workshops of artists appear to have formed at Koh Ker, and Polkinghorne has

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[90] Higham, 70.
[91] Ibid., 70,
[92] Ibid., 70.
In his summary, Vickery suggests Jayavarman IV's claim to rule is based on the following: Jayavarman IV was the son of Indravarman's daughter Mahendradevi. He also had an elder brother, Rajendravarman (r. 944-968 CE) and a son, Harshavarman II (r.941-944CE), both of whom would eventually succeed Jayavarman IV's reign. Jayavarman IV married his aunt, Jayadevi, who was the half-sister of Yaśovarman, therefore, allowing Jayvarman IV to inherit a legitimate claim of rule.
Rajendravarman (r. 944-968CE) would return to Angkor and is associated with the construction of Pre Rup (consecrated 961/962CE).

concluded that artists working at Koh Ker followed Jayavarman IV's successor back to the capital, and therefore indicates that artists were not tied to a particular administration.[93] However, according to Evans, there are no indications of major sites of stone quarrying in the archaeological record of Koh Ker.[94] This may also help to explain the overlap in the HoMA lintel design in which artists may be moving between Koh Ker and Ankgor's Siem Reap power centers.

Evans suggests that artists and architects working to construct temples at Koh Ker may have sourced the bulk of the building materials from the immediate Koh Ker area, which is rich in sandstone and laterite.[95] Yet, it seems as though stone needed to construct specific elements such as lintels and other carvings may have been sourced from other areas outside of Koh Ker.[96] While there must have been an established Koh Ker quarrying system, it seems as though artists working on Koh Ker temples needed also to rely upon external quarry relationships in order to successfully complete temple projects. This may also be another argument in favor of artist movement throughout Angkor and subsequent carrying over of previous carving styles and motifs. If we are to accept the interpretation that Koh Ker was not a large city able to support a massive population, it seems additionally clear that it would have required artistic movement to the Koh Ker capitol. Yet, as Evans also points out, we should not assume that movement to and from Koh Ker was intended as a mass relocation of an entire city, but instead movement of the

[93] Martin Polkinghorne, 226.
[94] Damian Evans, "The Archaeological Landscape of Koh Ker, Northwest Cambodia," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orien*t 97/98(2010-2011): 102-103.
[95] Evans, 103.
[96] Ibid.

Khmer court, while many of the cities inhabitants may not have relocated despite the waxing and waning of the power center.[97]

The most convincing comparison for a transitional style from Koh Ker into Pre Rup comes from a lintel depicting *Durga triumphing over Mahisasura (the buffalo demon)* found at Prasat Muang Khaek (fig. 2.15). In this relief, we have a similar composition in which the central figure appears in front of the central garland. In addition, the overall vegetal motifs are simplified in a manner which reflects stronger consistencies with the HoMA lintel versus earlier examples in the "pure" Koh Ker style. While the Prasat Muang Khaek lintel is heavily weather-worn, there is another important feature that appears to correspond with the HoMA lintel and suggests a transitional position between the Koh Ker and Pre Rup styles. At both ends of the central garland there are terminating *nāgas*. In addition, the Durga lintel also depicts a band of seated figures above the central composition. While they are not depicted in a keeling posture, as they are in the HoMA lintel and the Prasat Sralao lintel from Banteay Srei (fig. 2.3), the presence of the upper band of figures is an important feature to investigate further.

Jayavarman IV's alternate power center lasted until 941 CE and he was succeeded by his son, Harshavarman II (r. 941-944CE) and eventually Jayavarman's brother, Rajendravarman (r. 944-968CE). Rajendravarman's control over his brother's capital merged with his return to Angkor, and Rajendravarman established Pre Rup at Angkor in 961/962CE.[98] Inscriptions from Pre Rup detail Rajendravarman's royal ancestry and elite lineage to the founders of Angkor. It is clear that during Rajendravarman's reign, he sought to align himself with the past Angkorian rulers. The style of Pre Rup (947-ca. 965 CE) typically embraces the past styles of Preah Ko and

[97] Ibid., 125.
[98] Higham, 70.

Bakheng, but may not necessarily be as intricately executed.[99] By definition, the Pre Rup style is a transitional one (perhaps similar to what was seen at Prasat Kravan) in which an individual or group of individuals (such is the case for Prasat Kravan), sought to link themselves to a past king, specifically the reign of Yaśovarman and the Bakheng style. This constant referencing of past Bakheng style traditions in mid-10th century lintels is perhaps the most-convincing explanation for why the HoMA lintel does not fit the strict Bakheng style, but instead contains elements of the Bakheng, as well as Koh Ker and Pre Rup lintel design. The growing consideration that artists would have moved back to Angkor after having worked on projects at Koh Ker may also account for persisting Koh Ker qualities present in the HoMA lintel. However, the predominance of the Pre Rup elements may also reflect not only the knowledge of the ruling elite seeking to align themselves with the past lineage of Angkor, but also the workshops employed to produce such lintels would have been aware of the need to maintain and symbolize power through specific styles and lintel elements.[100]

Banteay Srei

It is also common that the style of Pre Rup can contain elements of the later Bantey Srei style (particularly with the depictions of drapery for anthropomorphic figures). A brief exploration of the Banteay Srei style (967-ca.1000 CE) is considered in this section, as well as an attempt to explain the anomaly of the eight seated figures in the HoMA lintel. While the upper band of seated figures in the HoMA lintel is best matched to a lintel from Prasat Sralao (fig. 2.3), the overall Banteay Srei lintel style appears to be too complex in design and too late in date for

[99] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 42.
[100] Polkinghorne, 226.

our *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel from the HoMA. Banteay Srei lintels occur between 967-ca.1000 CE. When considering lintels from Banteay Srei, the upper and lower registers of the lintels are packed with vegetal motifs not present in the simpler HoMA lintel. While the depth of the relief carving may be similar to the HoMA lintel, it would be illogical to argue that the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* relief could fit within this Banteay Srei style. In addition, if were are to understand the HoMA lintel as a possible representation of a style existing outside of Angkor's center, it is important to note that Banteay Srei style lintels are uncommon, and few examples from the region of northeastern Thailand are known, with the exception of a lintel depicting Indra on Airavata from Wat Prang Thon, Nakon Ratchasima province, and a lintel depicting a *devatā* seated on a lotus from the National Museum of Phimai.[101] Lintels from Banteay Srei also had a tendency to reference Preah Ko, a style that was ruled out as a potential match for the HoMA lintel earlier in this chapter. Therefore, perhaps we are witnessing a moment in which the band of kneeling figures is becoming popular during this transitional time between Koh Ker and Pre Rup, but before the Banteay Srei style is fully established.

Reassigning a date to the HoMA lintel

The case study of the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* exposes the subtle nuances in stylistic developments during the 10th century of Angkor's history, but it also emphasizes the connection between Khmer kingship and temple design. While the first chapter of this thesis considers the potential agency and limitations of sculptors and craftsman of the Angkor period working on *prāsat* construction projects, this chapter utilizes the HoMA lintel to examine another element of the inseparable political associations made with Khmer temples of the Angkor period. It is

[101] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 46.

during the 10th century, and specifically the mid-to-late 10th century, that Angkor witnessed shifts in political power that would eventually result in the development of a competing power center at Koh Ker established by Jayavarman IV (r. 928-941 CE) and the later merger of power of the two centers during the reign of Rajendravarman (r.944-968 CE) and commencement of the Pre Rup style (947-ca.965 CE).

These changes in political centers during the mid-to-latelate 10th century demonstrate the literal fragmentation of Angkor's territorial control through the creation of an alternate and competing power center of Koh Ker. After Rajendravarman returned to Angkor, and through inscriptions which emphasize his direct association with past Khmer elites, the Angkorian empire itself seems to have merged both power centers into one and the stylistic traditions of Pre Rup would emulate the earlier Bakheng period before Angkor fell into its period of mid-10th century conflict. While the empire itself re-unified and elites left Koh Ker and returned to the primary capital as its center of power, the process of re-evoking the prior Bakheng style in the later Pre Rup period as a means of political associations has resulted in a modern-day challenges for dating the lintels from the 10th century.

While these larger themes of power and legitimation reflected through lintel styles of the 10th century, it is also true that artists would have been aware of the need to evoke these power associations through their assigned projects. The movement of artists back to Angkor from Koh Ker also indicates the movement of artists working throughout Angkor's empire and suggests that there was a degree of both religious and political fluidity for artists and their workshops. This second chapter has sought to highlight the need to interrogate the subtle, stylistic inconsistencies of Khmer lintels and the critical interpretation of specific dating and a stronger acknowledgement of transitional styles between more clearly understood styles. The

acknowledgement of transitional styles also helps to shed light on the probably false idea that entire Khmer cities were picked-up and moved every time a new power center or ruling elite was established. Instead of mass-relocation of populations, only key elites and court members may have relocated and artists may not have needed to have clear political allegiances despite working on temple projects with clear political connections, yet they may have been able to recognize ties between kings and specific temple styles which resulted in the hybrid-style lintels that we see in the HoMA example. Therefore, this lintel from the HoMA demonstrates a transitional moment in time that appears to have occurred between the Koh Ker (c. 921-945 CE) and Pre Rup (947-ca.965 CE) styles, but before the Banteay Srei style (967-ca.1000 CE) is fully established.

CHAPTER 3

AN UNUSUAL LINTEL FROM THE JOHN YOUNG MUSEUM OF ART

While the discussion of the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel in the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA) explores the nuances in lintel styles during the 10th century, a second and also nearly-complete lintel in the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) presents us with a second case study. The pressing questions of fragmentation of the lintel itself has less to do with the overall stylistic appearance of the lintel, and more to do with iconography and the lacunae of comparable examples in the art historical record. This lintel (Appendix A9), simply identified as "*Relief*" in the JYMA records, includes a central scene that is unknown in any other surviving lintel from the Angkor period. The central composition (Appendix A9) contains four figures in, what appear to be, either a single scene or, two separate scenes.[102] The uppermost scene (Appendix A9) depicts a polycephalic, eight-armed, anthropomorphic figure seated in the posture of royal ease. In six of the eight hands, it appears as though this deity once held swords (or other weaponry) or attributes that are now too damaged to discern. The remaining natural left and right hands are empty, with the lowermost proper right hand raised in a manner that suggests *abhayamudrā* (gesture of fearlessness).[103]

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[102] The figure in the upper register does not appear to be interacting with the figures in the lower register of this lintel. This is the basis for the claim that this is not a single, unified scene. Khmer reliefs depicting a clear interaction between figures can be observed in a pediment depicting Rāvaṇa shaking Mt. Kailash from Banteay Srei. However, as mentioned in chapter 1, it is typical to also find a general guardian figure or *dikpala* in khmer lintels and, perhaps, the inclusion of the uppermost figure is intended to represent a similar figure. A further discussion of the *dikpala* identification is discussed below.

[103] This upper figure may commonly be interpreted as Brahma. It is not uncommon to find this identification given to Khmer depictions of deities with multiple heads and arms and may be the result of post-Angkor period interpretation. This issue exists outside of lintel and sculpture identifications and has also been a possible identification that has been argued for the face towers of the Bayon.

The lower register depicts a large anthropomorphic figure locked in combat with two smaller human-like figures brandishing weapons (perhaps spears or daggers).[104] The large, central figure at the base clutches the two smaller figures with one arm around each of their waists. The weather-worn hands of the large figure are raised in what could be interpreted as a double *abhayamudrā*. All four figures at the center of the lintel have suffered damage due to wear and exposure to the elements. There is no intentional de-facing of the images to indicate an iconoclastic action or an attempt to loot a portion of the lintel.[105] While valuable details such as attributes, facial features, and headdress details no longer survive, the overall shape of the *sampot* (drapery) worn by the top deity and the large central figure at the base are reminiscent of the Baphuon style.[106]

While the composition of the central figures is a quagmire of potential iconographic interpretations, the Baphuon drapery style, as well as the style of the botanical motifs of this lintel, suggest a possible origin in the eleventh century. This chapter seeks to situate this lintel historically as an example of the Baphuon stylistic tradition from Angkor's periphery regions in modern-day northeastern Thailand. In addition, this chapter will address this quizzical, central composition and suggest a possible identification as Maheśa, the manifestation of Śiva, presiding above the story of Kṛṣṇa killing the two *asura* in the lower scene.

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[104] Again, due to the worn surface of the lintel, we cannot be certain of the exact weaponry.
[105] The proper right knee of the uppermost figure is missing due to damage to the lintel.
[106] The Baphuon drapery style for males is often categorized into two types: drapery on sculpture in the round and on figures in relief. For decorated lintels from the Baphuon period, it is common to find a simplified *sampot* form in which the upper edge of the *sampot* falls back on the hip forming a slightly offset hem. A Śiva from Svay Rieng provides an example of this drapery type, as do a majority of the lintels discussed in this chapter. For an example of Baphon drapery types, see Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: Picard, 1966), 253.

The Baphuon lintel style and the John Young Museum of Art lintel

The JYMA lintel, in its current state, is heavily weather-worn and broken into two parts.[107] A large portion of the lower, proper right corner of the lintel where the end of the central garland would have curled outward, is also broken. The upper portion of the lintel, which probably would have contained a thin, undecorated band (and possibly a smaller upper register above that), is now missing. The base of the lintel also bears surviving traces of an undecorated band. The underside of the lintel has four holes, two one each side (fig.3.1a and 3.1b). The proper left side of the lintel displays two similar insertion holes, while the back of the lintel remains un-refined.[108] The color of the stone on the underside of the lintel as well as the back appear to differ from the front. Cracks in the stone seem to reveal another color to the stone. This could be credited to the effects of wear and the lintel having been outside at both the original temple site as well as when it was in John Young's personal collection. However, several works from John Young's collection both in the JYMA and the HoMA appear to have undergone a "tinting" process which colored the stone surface to appear more uniform.[109] It is possible that similar treatments were performed on this lintel, but there is no record of them.

[107] It is unknown whether or not this breakage occurred when the lintel was removed from its original temple site, during the sale or transportation of the lintel, when it was in the possession of John Young, or when it was given to the John Young Museum of Art. The absence of any detailed records complicates understanding of this portion of the lintel's biography. The interior portion of the breakage on either portion appears to be weather-worn to the same degree as the rest of the lintel and may suggest that this break was not recent. The overall condition of the lintel is heavily weather-worn and the faces and details of the central figures are unrecognizable. Some blackening to the stone has occurred as well as portions of white patches which may be natural salt build-up on the stone. Past photographs showing this and other lintels in John Young's private home reveal that the lintels and other large Khmer sandstone sculptures were kept outside in his garden.

[108] This appears to be original and not a later change made to the stone.

[109] See Chapter 2 and the discussion of the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel (6699.1) for a more detailed account of the JYMA lintels and the attempted conservation process.

There is no prior research or dating for this lintel on record, nor has a specific stylistic attribution been assigned to this lintel by the John Young Museum of Art.[110] Due to the large size of the central scene, which occupies the entire height of the lintel, there is no *kāla* mask that could assist in assigning a secure stylistic identification. Furthermore, aside from the central composition, no other figures or mythical creatures, such as *singha* (lions) or *naga* (serpents), are present amongthe lintel's vegetation. The primary basis for stylistic attribution must depend on an analysis of the vegetal motifs and surviving drapery. Despite the simplicity of this relief, I seek to argue that, based on the surviving botanical motifs, that this lintel best reflects the Baphuon style and potentially dates between the 11th – early 12th century. Specifically, this lintel shares stronger stylistic consistencies with lintels from Angkor's peripheries in modern-day northeastern Thailand than the Baphuon style that developed at Angkor's center.

I suggest that the *Lintel with Two Deities* is carved in a manner that reflects strong elements of the Baphuon style (ca. 1010 – ca. 1080). However, as is the case with the Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA), the *Lintel with Two Deities* from the JYMA may also exhibit a hybrid style. This could have been due to the strong influence of the Baphuon style into the early 12th century of the Angkor Wat period.[111] Often times, lintels were rendered in a primary style, but could also contain elements of earlier or evolving stylistic

[110] In the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) PastPerfect records, a general date of 11th-13th century has been given to almost all the artworks from the Angkor period, including this relief (1998.1.59). It is unknown as to whether or not this date is an implied date for the lintel itself or for the entire Khmer art collecting in the JYMA. If it is a date that was assigned to this lintel, it is a rather general attribution. No notes or additional records are provided to justify the reasoning for this date attribution. In the captions for images of this lintel in the MA thesis, the 11th-13th century date is accompanied by a "?". Moving forward, I will also be referring to this lintel by the title of *Lintel with Two Deities*.

[111] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 46.

traditions.[112] This looking-back to the past may indicate not only a stylistic revival of past artistic motifs, but as the discussion of the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel from the previous chapter has suggested, this was also a way in which the rulers of Angkor may have looked back to earlier periods for political associations. The central composition of the JYMA lintel, and its conceivable double Śivite and Kṛṣṇa subject matter, may also imply that this lintel had its origins outside of Angkor's capital and may have perhaps originated from a temple site positioned along the peripheral region of Angkor in modern-day Northeastern Thailand. In general, the composition itself may indicate specific hints regarding the religious tradition from which this lintel originated. A third possibility (that will be discussed at the end of this chapter) will address the central composition of this lintel as it relates to questions of authenticity versus a lacunae of surviving examples in the art historical record.

The Baphuon style is commonly connected with the construction of the Baphuon as Angkor's state temple during the mid-11th century by Udayadityavarman II (r.1050-1066).[113] Boisselier observed that the Baphuon style included the following qualities:

> Deux groups contemporains: linteaux à scène avec personnages généralement plus nombreux que dans les compositions préangkoriennes, disposes sur un ou deux registres, excluant souvent tout décor vegetal. Linteaux à décor vegetal où le centre de la branche, très fortement infléchi, est occupé par une tête de monster (avec mâchoire inférieure, contamination du *simhamukha*, et muffle généralement déprimé) surmontée d'une divinité sous arcature, ou une scène (fréquemment Kṛṣṇaique) à un ou plusieurs personnages. Une combinasion des deux types amène la disparition de la branche et une division et deux registres (register inférieur occupé par des figures, register supérieur

[112] See Chapter 2 for an expanded case study using the HoMA lintel.
[113] *Ibid*., 46.
Boisselier, 154.
While this is the common argument, recent evidence suggests that the Baphuon may date to the reign of Suryavarman I.
Stephanie Leroy, M Hendrickson, E Delqué-Kolic, E Vega, and P Dillmann, "First Direct Dating for the Construction and Mondification of the Baphuon Temple Mountain in Angkor, Cambodia," *PLoS ONE* 10, (2015): e0141052, accessed April 17, 2017. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0141052

> occupé par des rinceaux contraries parfois histories: gopura du groupe voisin de Robang Romeah: Kṛṣṇa Govardhana).[114]

It is believed that approximately ten temples are associated directly with the reign of Udayadityavarman II, who like his predecessor, Suryavarman I (r. 1001-1050), maintained active, albeit slightly lessened, territorial control over regions of modern-day northeastern Thailand as well as regions south of Angkor in modern-day Cambodia.[115] These active communication corridors (fig. 3.2) during the Baphuon period may also account for the spread of the Baphuon stylistic tradition into these far-reaching provinces.[116]

Khmer interaction in northeastern Thailand did not begin with the Baphuon period. A tenth-century inscription (K.376) from Prasat Ta Muan Thom, located on the modern Cambodian border in Thailand's Surin province, indicates Khmer activity in the area.[117] However, Udayadityavarman was succeeded by his brother, Harshavarman III (r. 1066-80), who Hiram Woodward suggests held weak rule over the region as indicated by the establishment of a new lineage, the Mahidharapura dynasty, after his reign.[118] According to the K. 237 inscription, Kamvau's revolt, which occurred in 1065 at the end of Udayadityavarman II's rule, involved population centers along the Angkor-Phimai road network and is perhaps the region from which

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[114] Boisselier, 154.
[115] Mitch Hendrickson, "Connecting the Dots," in *Old Myths and New Approaches*, ed. Alexandra Haendel. (Australia: Monash University Publishing, 2012). 91-94.
[116] Hendrickson, 94-94.
Hendrickson defines "communication corridors" as the territorial control a Khmer ruler held over the region. These expanses of empire would have allowed for communication from Angkor's state capital outward into the corners of the empire.
[117] Hiram Woodward, *The Art and Architecture of Thailand* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 121.
[118] Woodward, 127.

the Mahidharapura dynasty originated.[119] Woodward also suggests that this Angkor-Phimai network was resilient and the Mahidharapura dynasty held enough influence and power to recruit elite craftsman from Angkor to work on temple projects in the Northeastern region.[120] If artists were being pulled away from the capital, this could also account for the spread of the Baphuon lintel style and its variations. Martin Polkinghorne has suggested that artist workshops would have sought to shadow dominant power centers, and therefore understood the need to follow shifting political powers.[121]

Siribhadra and Veraprasert state that the Baphuon lintel style, among all the lintel styles of the Angkor period, survives in the largest quantity.[122] Specifically, the Baphuon style lintels appear most frequently at various sites in northeastern Thailand, including Prasat Muang Tam, Prasat Kamphaeng Yai, Prasat Narai Jeng, Prasat Ta Muen Thom, and Prasat Phnom Rung.[123] The two carved Baphuon lintel types, specified by Boisselier, developed during the Baphuon period.[124] The first type are lintels with compositions dominated by deities or specific narratives

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[119] *Ibid*., 127.
Claude Jacques, "Etude d'épigraphie cambodgienne n8. La carrière de Jayavarman II', *BEFEO* LIX, 1972.
Claude Jacque, and P Lafond, *L'empire Khmer: cites et sanctuaires Ve-XIIIe siècles*, Fryard, (Paris: 2004).
Woodward and Jacques also suggest that origins of the Mahidharapura dynasty could have also been Phimai itself or in the Koh Ker region. The K.191 inscription, dated 1110 CE, and the K. 194 inscription, dated 1119m detail the rise to power of the Mahidharapura dynasty.
[120] *Ibid*., 128. This is perhaps connected to the construction of Prasat Phimai.
[121] Martin Polkinghorne, "Khmer decorative lintels and the allocation of artistic labor," *Arts Asiatiques* 63 (2008): 21-35.
[122] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 46.
[123] Prasat Muang Tam, Pra Khon Chai district, Buri Ram province; Prasat Kamphaeng Yai, Uthumphon Phisai district, Si Sa Ket province; Prasat Narai Jeng Weng, Sakon Nakhon province; Prasat Ta Muen Thom, Kap Choeng district, Surin province; and Prasat Phnom Rung, Nang Rong district, Buri Ram province.
[124] Boisselier, 154.
Siribhadra and Veraprasert also use Boisselier's lintel types in their classification of lintels found in Thailand.

such as the *Churning of the Sea of Milk*. Unlike other lintels which fill the regular space with vegetal forms, the first Baphuon style includes almost no vegetal motifs and, instead, architectural elements are used to fill the space (fig. 3.3).[125] The thin, upper register decorated with figures, which made its appearance on earlier lintels, persists as a popular feature.[126]

The second of Boisselier's decorated lintel types from the Baphuon period includes lintels with dominant vegetal motifs (fig. 3.4 and fig. 3.5) and a few, differing, central compositions.[127] The expected visual program for the type two lintels includes a jawless *simhamukha* (*simha* face) or *kāla* interrupting a garland that dips down at the middle. The central *simhamukha* can vary and may also spew forth the central garland motif from its mouth (fig. 3.6), often times with a lower jaw absent.[128] A lintel from northeastern Thailand, now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (AAM) (fig. 3.7), illustrates the second Baphuon lintel type in which the central garland emerges from the maw of the *simhamukha* and surmounted above the creature is a figure riding on a buffalo beneath an architectural frame. This central scene is identified by the AAM as Yama holding a *danda* (stick of command) and mounted on his buffalo mount.[129] In the Baphuon style in general, either a *devata* (deity) or *dikpāla* (directional guardian) is also a common element in the central lintel scenes, and both often appear as two-armed, kneeling figures. They can also be depicted atop their *vāhana* (animal mount) as seen, for example, on the lintel depicting Yama from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (fig.3.7). It

[125] A lintel from Prasat Phreithanal is often used to illustrate the example of the first Baphuon type. This lintel depicts Śiva seated with his consort Uma on his bull *vāhana*. They are surrounded by various gods that comprise the rest of the scene such as a four-headed Brahma and a Viṣṇu mounted on Garuda.
[126] The seated *ṛṣi* are the most commonly occurring figures in this upper register.
[127] Boisselier, 154-155.
[128] *Ibid*., 154-155.
[129] A relief fragment, probably an antefix, that is not so easily identified from the John Young Museum of Art (see Appendix A12) depicts a figure which can be interpreted as Yama or Śiva.

should also be noted that the Hindu deity, Viśvakarman is sometimes depicted on a *kāla* at the center of a lintel and holding a *danda* (stick of command).[130] However, he is not commonly depicted on a *vāhana*. A lintel from Prasat Muang Tam, Pra Kohn Chai district in Buri Ram province (fig. 3.8) demonstrates an example of this type of ambiguous figure that is frequently identified as Viśvakarman or Yama.[131] The lintel from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (fig. 3.7) as well as the lintel from Prasat Muang Tam (fig. 3.8) are convincing examples of the second Baphuon lintel type that serve as a potential stylistic match to the *Lintel with two Deities* from the JYMA.

A lintel depicting *Śiva on Nandi* from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3.9) is yet another relief with similar stylistic features as the JYMA lintel.[132] This relief perhaps best parallels the ways in which the JYMA lintel's foliage is rendered. The flame-like leaves (dentate leaves) at the top of the *Śiva on Nandi* lintel, the central garland, and the lower tendrils are rendered in a simplicity that echoes both the JYMA lintel and the Nong Hong Temple lintel (fig. 3.7). The relief from the Metropolitan Museum of Art also includes a depiction of a deity occupying the entire center of the lintel and therefore eliminates the presence of a *kāla* motif. The way the central garland dips beneath Śiva and his *vahana* echoes the method in which the central garland is composed in the JYMA relief. In addition, at the base of the central garland of the Metropolitan Museum of Art example (fig. 3.9), there are two leaves which project outward

[130] Vittorio Roveda, *Images of the Gods* (Thailand: River Books, 2005), 191.
He can also be observed holding a closed lotus.
[131] Identification of the figures in the central lintel sense can also be helpful in theorizing where these lintels would have been originally placed. For example, lintels depicting Yama might indicate that the lintel would have been placed on the southern face of the temple due to Yama's role as a *dikpāla* of the south.
[132] For a further discussion of identifying Śiva's *vahana* as Nandi in museum and exhibition labels, see Chapter 4.

and away from the center. These flanking leaves are also present, although heavily damaged and weather-worn, in the JYMA relief.

The *Lintel with Two Deities* exhibits several stylistic features that would lead us to convincingly associate this lintel with Boisselier's second type of Baphuon-style lintel and to date it to approximately the 11th- early 12th century. The overall vegetal patterns scroll in the same corresponding directions as in the second Baphuon type. The lower tendrils which descend below the central garland curl in the expected direction, away from the central scene.[133] The central garland also exhibits the same alternating botanical pattern corresponding with the second lintel type, and the upper, flame-like leaf patterns (or dentate leaves) all radiate outward and away from the center, towards the ends of the lintel. The surviving portions of the ends of the lintel also appear to indicate that the central garland would have curled inward toward the center, a feature consistent with the majority of Baphuon-style lintels.

While the overall vegetal layout for the *Lintel with two Deities* is consistent with the second Baphuon lintel style, the central subjects raise complications with the evaluation of the lintel as an example of the Baphuon style, let alone an authentic relief from the Angkor period. The JYMA relief includes a figure seated beneath an architectural frame, which corresponds to the depiction of central figures in Baphuon-style lintels. Yet, unlike the typical *devata* (divinities) who are depicted seated in a kneeling position (and sometimes holding a weapon) or clearly identifiable such as our Śiva and Yama examples (fig. 3.7 and fig. 3.9), the JYMA *Lintel with Two Deities* contains a multi-cephalic, multi-armed deity seated in the posture of royal ease. This is in itself a unique and an unprecedented figure appearing at the center of a Baphuon style

[133] A general observation of the second Baphuon lintel type is that the vegetation below the central garland can either curl in a corresponding direction away from the central scene, or there is a symmetry on either side where one tendril curls away while the other tendril curls inward.

lintel. Another unusual characteristic of this lintel is the appearance, below, of the three additional figures locked in combat.[134] The remainder of this chapter explores possible identifications for these enigmatic figures, both individually and as a group.

One central scene or Rāvana

If we are to understand these four figures as part of a single, unified scene, the question remains as to what iconography or narrative it might be. There is no known story that corresponds to this depiction of a five-headed, eight-armed figure presiding over a scene of combat. One could argue that the figure with five heads and eight arms, could be a depiction of Rāvaṇa. At the earlier 10th century temple of Banteay Srei (fig. 3.10), we find multiple reliefs on the temple site depicting combat as well as full narratives including the ruler of Lanka. The pediment which depicts Rāvaṇa shaking Mt. Kailash displays an instance in which all sculpted figures are in complete interaction with one another as Rāvaṇa threatens the abode of the gods. With this example from Banteay Srei in mind, there is the question as to whether or not the uppermost figure in the *Lintel with Two Deities* is a possible representation of Rāvaṇa. Perhaps the JYMA lintel displays the truncated narrative that is fully expressed in the Banteay Srei pediment. However, it would be atypical to find Rāvaṇa at the top of the scene since he would be shaking the mountain at its base, while Śiva presides at the peak with his consort, Parvati or Uma.

The *Ramayana* was popular in Khmer temple reliefs, and Rāvaṇa does appear in other scenes in Khmer art. He can be found in lintels and other relief carvings from Angkor Wat, Preah Khan, and Banteay Samre. A relief of Rāvaṇa in a pediment from Angkor Wat's eastern gallery

[134] Khmer dance-like posture which indicates combat is typical.

(fig. 3.11) depicts him seated in his palace while Hanuman is seen escaping and setting fire to Lanka.[135] This depiction of a seated Rāvaṇa is similar the JYMA figure in terms of the posture of royal ease, the placement of the frontmost proper left hand akimbo on the hip, and the brandishing of swords in the remaining hands. The frontmost proper right hand brandishes a spear in the Angkor Wat relief, however it is impossible to confirm whether or not the JYMA lintel figure also held a similar weapon or if it is instead making an *abhayamudra* gesture theorized at the start of this chapter. What differs is the presence of nine heads for Rāvaṇa (seven visible and two implied) at Angkor Wat and five heads (four visible and an implied fifth) on the JYMA figure. This is a feature that eliminates the Rāvaṇa identification for the uppermost figure since Rāvaṇa is undisputedly depicted in Khmer art with nine heads (as also seen, for example, in figure 3-10).[136]

It would also be unusual to find a depiction of Rama beneath Rāvaṇa. No known example of such a composition exists. The appearance of the lower figures complicates our interpretation of the narrative. The lower figure cannot be Rama fighting a *rākṣasa* as he is not depicted with his bow as would be expected in scenes of such combat in Khmer reliefs. We also can not identify the central figure as a *rākṣasa,* such as Kumbhakarna fighting off the monkey army during the battle in the Yuddhakanda, because the monkeys would not be brandishing weaponry. All of these problematic factors allow us to rule out the possibility that the uppermost figure is a depiction of Rāvaṇa.

[135] Roveda, 131.
[136] In addition to the Banteay Srei example, a lintel now on the grounds of Preah Khan as well as a lintel from the Baphuon depict Rāvaṇa with nine heads.

Dikpāla

If this uppermost figure cannot be identified as Rāvaṇa, perhaps the convention of placing the figure beneath the sculpted arch could indicate that it is intended to represent a *dikpāla*, or directional guardian with a separate scene below. If this figure were to represent a *dikpāla*, it could represent either Yama, the guardian of the South or a manifestation of Śiva as the guardian of the Northeast.[137] While Yama can be depicted with multiple arms, riding on his buffalo *vāhana* and holding swords that seem similar to the objects possibly held by the figure in the JYMA lintel, it is not common for Yama to be depicted in Khmer art with multiple heads. Furthermore, when depicted in Khmer art, Yama is rarely divorced from his buffalo mount.[138] It is possible that this is a representation of Śiva as the *dikpāla,* Īśāna*,* in which he rides upon his bull *vahana*. However, in these instances, Īśāna is commonly depicted with two arms and a single head (see, for example, fig. 3.12). A more convincing interpretation of this JYMA figure as another aspect of Śiva is outlined in the next section.

Manifestations of Śiva

Perhaps the most convincing argument for the identification of this uppermost figure is that it may be a representation of Śiva, specifically his five-headed manifestation. The appearance of the five-headed Śiva first occurred in the 10th century as free-standing statuary and persisted until the 11th century as part of the Khmer Śivite pantheon.[139] Emma Bunker has argued

[137] Roveda, 193.
[138] *Ibid*., 193.
[139] *Ibid*., 503. Bunker suggests that after the 11th century, the two Śiva types received a third-eye attribute resembling a *vajra* that incorporated them into a Buddhist mandala. An inscription from Sab Bak in 1066 implies Vajrayana was practiced in the Phimai region.

that there are two different aspects of Śiva that are represented: Maheśa, Śiva's supreme manifestation, and Bhairava, his horrific aspect.[140]

While examples of Maheśa appear in the round and frequently in bronze, it is difficult to find examples of Maheśa depicted in relief as part of a lintel. In Khmer art Maheśa always has five heads arranged in two tiers with four at the base and one at the top. Maheśa images also have eight arms. Both these features appear to correspond with the figure on the JYMA lintel. In earlier analysis of the uppermost figure, it has been entertained that the deity is holding swords or other weaponry in his hands. Due to the heavy abrasion, and through a comparison to the depiction of a Maheśa image in bronze (fig. 3.13), it is possible what remains are simply the figure's arms and that the attributes held in each hand are now missing.

The second manifestation of Śiva is Bhairava, the horrific aspect. A major difference between the depictions of a five-headed Bhairava versus a five-headed Maheśa is the presence of a skull at the base of the neck that indicates Bhairava. Bhairava holds the following attributes: conch, dagger, staff, rosary, disk, a broken *trishula*, and a *vajra*. It is now impossible to tell what the original attributes of the JYMA figure may have been, however, it does not appear as though the figure once had a skull motif on the neck, surface damage notwithstanding.

A third possibility is that this is a manifestation of Śiva known as Iśvara who is depicted with eight arms and five-heads. However, a main feature of Iśvara in Khmer lintel reliefs is a depiction of the deity dancing (fig. 3.14). The figure in the JYMA lintel is seen seated in a posture of royal ease that could not be mistaken for a posture of dancing with arms arrayed and one leg raised off the ground in the way that Iśvara is so typically depicted (fig. 3.14). I suggest

[140] Emma Bunker and Douglas Latchford, *Khmer Bronzes, New Interpretations of the Past* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, Inc., 2011), 503.

that out of all the potential manifestations of Śiva, the uppermost figure in the *Lintel with Two Deities* from the JYMA has the greatest potential to represents Maheśa.

Kṛṣṇa & Viṣṇu Scenes

Yet, even if we are to recognize the uppermost figure in the JYMA lintel as Maheśa, the bottom scene continues to raise questions about the unlikely combination of figures. Up until this point, I have neglected to mention the prevalence of Kṛṣṇa scenes in Baphuon style lintels.[141] Reliefs depicting Kṛṣṇa are an important feature of the Baphuon period, and specifically the Baphuon temple itself. It is common to find a depiction of Kṛṣṇa taking up almost the entirety of the center of the lintel *in medias res* tearing apart a *singha* or two *singha*.[142] An example from Prasat Phimai (fig. 3.15) depicts one such representation of a large Kṛṣṇa at the center engaged in combat with two *singha*. The depiction of Kṛṣṇa in this example strongly parallels the lower figure in the JYMA lintel, specifically the stance of the lower central figure. However, in the latter, the two smaller figures appear to be anthropomorphic and not at all close in representation to *singha*.[143]

Baphuon-style lintels may also illustrate other manifestations of Kṛṣṇa, including depictions of Kṛṣṇa subduing the *nāga* Kaliya (fig. 3.16). This depiction also cannot account for the appearance of the two human-like figures locked in combat with the JYMA figure. Viṣṇu killing Madhu and Kaitabha may, however, be a potential match for the lower scene in the JYMA lintel. At Banteay Samre, we see a lintel depicting a four-armed figure subduing two

[141] Louis Finot, "Les Bas-Reliefs de Bapuon," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine* 10 (1910): 155-161.
[142] Siribhadra and Veraprasert, 42.
[143] *Singha* may sometimes appear bipedal, or standing on their hind legs in lintels, however, their faces and upper bodies are always recognizable as lions.

anthropomorphic figures (fig. 3.17). Bhattacharya has suggested that this scene is a depiction of Viṣṇu killing the two *rākṣasa,* Madhu and Kaitabha who were birthed from the ear of Viṣṇu as he dreamt the world into existence.[144] Additional instances of this scene (fig. 3.18 & fig.3. 19) again depict a four-armed Viṣṇu combating the *rākṣasa*. Yet, while the composition of Viṣṇu in combat with two opponents presents a plausible identification for the JYMA lintel, the absence of the four arms of Viṣṇu prevents a complete confirmation that this is, infact, this episode. In the instances in which Viṣṇu is triumphing over the *rākṣasa*, he grabs the demons by the hair, subduing them beneath his feet. This is not the case for the JYMA lintel where the two smaller figures are held in either arm by the central figure. Perhaps this JYMA depicts an *in medias res* moment of the combat and not the end result of the conflict, however, examples of this are not known to this author. In the examples from Banteay Samre, Madhu and Kaitabha are, furthermore, not depicted brandishing spears (or related weaponry) as they do in the JYMA lintel. In fig. 3.19, the subdued figure is also placed under the foot of Viṣṇu and held by the hair instead of locked in the mode of combat seen in the JYMA lintel. Viṣṇu in this depiction is also depicted in the typical Khmer representation with four arms.

Perhaps we are looking at another Kṛṣṇa scene, for example the tale in which Kṛṣṇa fights the two *asuras* disguised as wrestlers (fig. 3.20). This *Lintel with Two Deities* may be depicting this specific episode.[145] Yet, like the Viṣṇu subduing Madhu and Kaitabha scenes, there are factors that obscure this possible interpretation. In the relief from Angkor Wat, we identify Kṛṣṇa victorious over the two demons. Yet, once again, this depiction of victory is depicted thought the positioning of the *asura* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa instead of the compositional

[144] Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Étude sur l'iconographie de Banteay Samrè," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 2, No.4 (1955): 294-308.

[145] Roveda, 89-90.

grouping seen in the JYMA lintel. In the Angkor Wat relief, Kṛṣṇa is also depicted with four arms instead of two.[146] The presence of potential weaponry in the hands of the JYMA *asura* is, again, somewhat confusing, particularly since this is a scene depicting a wrestling match and not weapon-based combat. However, of all the potential Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu scenes, it is, however, most likely that this is a depiction of the Kṛṣṇa killing the two *asura* episode. A major factor in ruling out the potential of this JYMA lintel depicting Viṣṇu, Madhu, and Kaitabha is due to the absence of four arms in the JYMA central figure. However, the Kṛṣṇa and the two wrestlers identification is still a stretch in identification. Considering the options that have been entertained for both the upper and lower deity thus far, I suggest that the upper figure is a potential representation of Maheśa, while the lower figure may depict Kṛṣṇa killing the *asura*. The scenes when read together, however, are unrelated and combine two entirely separate narratives on a single lintel.

Esoteric Considerations

While the identification for this lintel may potentially be Maheśa presiding over Kṛṣṇa killing the *asura,* Peter Sharrock's discussion of ambiguous figures on lintels at Banteay Chhmar opens up another possibility for an identification of the uppermost figure as a manifestation of an esoteric Buddhist figure, possibly a manifestation of Hevajra.[147] In his critique of Banteay Chhmar's 'Hall with Dancers', Sharrock considers the appearance of similar multiple armed figures to represent Hevajra, rather than Rāvaṇa. Manifestations of Hevajra in Khmer art, at times, associate Hevajra as a weapons-bearing deity.[148] While it would be more typical to find

[146] Unlike Viṣṇu who has a fixed depiction as a four-armed deity in Khmer art, Kṛṣṇa can be depicted with either two or four arms.
[147] Peter Sharrock, "Smiling Hevajra or frowning Ravana in Banteay Chhamar's 'Hall with Dancers'?," *Udaya* 13 (2015): 97-107.
[148] Sharrock, 101.

Hevajra with *vajras* in his hands instead of all clubs, we should not let our skepticism exclude the potential of the JYMA lintel's uppermost figure to possibly represent Hevajra. In a similar critique, Sharrock also makes note of the fact that while Hevajra figures in Khmer art are commonly represented as dancing, some bronze depictions of Hevajra display the deity in a seated position.[149]

If we are to entertain the possibility that the JYMA lintel's uppermost figure could potentially represent a manifestation of a seated, weapon-bearing, Hevajra, the lower figures may potentially be interpreted as not figures in combat, but perhaps in the act of performing a tantric ritual. The interpretation of a lintel depicting a tantric ritual, presided over by a Buddhist Hevajra is in itself, esoteric. Yet, while rare, lintels with depictions of rituals taking place do occur in Khmer art. This is specifically a question that occurs when considering the lintels of Prasat Phimai in which there also appear to be depictions of potential rituals taking place.

Sharrock's critique of Banteay Chhmar's lintels securely places the creation of the site within Jayavarman VII's religious milieu in which esoteric Buddhism flourished. Although the dating for this lintel places it slightly earlier than the full incorporation of Buddhism under Jayavarman VII's Angkor, we should not neglect the potential of this lintel to also reflect a type of transitional period in which Angkor's religion is beginning to shift towards esoteric Buddhist thought and the appearance of Hevajra becomes more common.[150] Perhaps the relationship between the two major figures in the lintel is intended to show evolving dominance of a specific

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Phillip Scott Ellis Green, "Two Internal Pediment Scenes from Banteay Chhmar," accessed April 6, 2017. http://www.academia.edu/3713477/_Two_Internal_Pediment_Scenes_from_Banteay_Chhmar_

[149] Sharrock, 102.

[150] Wibke Lobo, "The Figure of Hevajra and Tantric Buddhism," in *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory*, ed. Helen Jessup and Thierry Zephir. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 71-78.

Buddhist deity, such as Hevajra, over another Hindu deity which may potentially be the character in combat. Alternatively, this could also potentially represent Hevajra presiding over a scene of combat occurring in the mundane realm. The lower, central figure could also be interpreted as a dancing figure, however, whether or not it is intended to represent a Yogini (which would make a possible argument in favor of the Hevajra identification) is difficult to determine based on the current condition of the lintel. The Yogini identification would be problematic would also pose issues as it's not typical to have a single yogini instead of multiples with a Hevajra composition. Yet, the identification of the specific JYMA lintel still remains difficult as there appears to be a consistent disconnect between how we interpret the uppermost figure versus the figure at the bottom of the relief.

Contesting Authenticity or Religious Developments

Throughout this chapter, I have sought to secure an identification for each of the figures depicted in the center of the JYMA lintel, while also arguing to place this relief in the Baphuon style of the northeastern regions of the Angkorian empire. While it is clear that this lintel is rendered in the Baphuon style, the central composition remains an extreme quandary for not only the Baphuon period, but for the Angkor period as a whole. While examples exist which depict either Kṛṣṇa scenes or depictions of Śiva (commonly Iśvara in dance or Śiva with Uma), this lintel from the JYMA and its four figures remain a mystery. The placement of Maheśa in a posture of royal ease presiding over the scene of what may be Kṛṣṇa killing the wrestlers is one that is illogical and brings up the issue of this lintel's authenticity. Similar perplexing questions of interpretation and authenticity also occur if we are to understand this lintel as a depiction of the esoteric deity of Hevajra presiding over an unknown lower scene. Perhaps this lintel is not an

example of the 11th century Baphuon style, nor a unique development of the Baphuon style outside of Angkor's capital, but is instead a modern pastiche rendered in the Baphuon style. The Khmer art market is ripe with counterfeit works that appear in the many artistic styles of the Angkor period. It is entirely possible that an artist seeking to render a lintel in the style of the Baphuon observed examples of the dancing Iśvara or a scene of Kṛṣṇa in combat and decided to combine the two subjects into one lintel. Or it could have been an artist's attempt to copy elements of Angkor period lintels, with no specific deities or figures in mind. Alternatively, one could theorize that this lintel is partially authentic and once contained a central scene that was damaged (or completely removed), and restoration attempts were made to produce a seemingly complete lintel.[151]

Yet, while entertaining the possibility that this lintel is a modern work of art, we may also consider that this lintel is potentially authentic and may represent religious developments at a single temple site. I again suggest that Prasat Phimai and Prasat Phnom Rung serve as two examples in northeastern Thailand for this discussion of religious blending. The iconographic program of Prasat Phimai and its lintels have been the subject of much debate amongst art historians. A great deal of the argument regarding Prasat Phimai's religious program pertains to the orientation and organization of the temple's reliefs. Boreth Ly has argued that it is not necessary for all Khmer temples to exhibit a coherent layout for their visual material.[152] Ly has suggested that at temple sites, such as Prasat Phimai, there is no overall organization to the

[151] This may relate to the fact that the JYMA lintel, alongside other lintels from the Young collection, have been tinted. One of the lintels in the HoMA, discussed in chapter 2, was the subject of restoration and the central figure is not original to the relief. Perhaps this is also the case for the JYMA lintel. However, unless scanning can be done on the relief, we can neither confirm nor disprove the partial-restoration theory.

[152] Boreth Ly, "Protecting the Protector of Phimai," in *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, vol. 64/65, (The Walters Art museum, 2006/2007), 35-48.

reliefs, but instead the presence of such carvings is intended to function primarily as political and apotropaic elements. Ly uses this theory to account for the non-sequential appearance of "narrative" reliefs from the life of Kṛṣṇa, the Ramayana, and other scenes at Phimai. Therefore, the use of these scenes are selected in order to parallel political concerns in which the lintels frequently express moments of victory. Perhaps the JYMA lintel is another development of this concept in which two, unrelated scenes depicting Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite oriented narratives occur in a single lintel in order to provide protection to the site instead of conveying an intended, unified narrative.

Hiram Woodward has also argued that the Prasat Phimai reliefs are not necessarily clear in their organization.[153] Noting the presence of the *Ramayana*, Śaivite themes, and Tantric Buddhist figures, Woodward suggests a more integrated relationship between the Buddhist and Hindu subjects. Prasat Phimai's central image is believed to have been a naga-enthroned Buddha, which may suggest that the temple was oriented towards a Tantric Buddhist faith system.[154] Yet, while the interior of the site includes Buddhist subjects, involving moments of conquest or triumph, the exterior decoration of the temple exhibits Hindu-oriented imagery. Woodward understands this combination of Buddhist and Hindu (predominantly Śaivite) imagery as an example of religious blending common throughout Angkor's history.[155] In addition, he notes the tendency for Tantric Buddhism to also exhibit Śaiva-like characteristics. Again, we must consider the earlier discussions of the Hevajra identification and its complications.

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[153] Hiram Woodward. *The Art and Architecture of Thailand*. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 121.
[154] Pia Conti, "Tantric Buddhism at Prasat Hin Phimai: A New Reading of Its Iconographic Message," in *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, ed. Nicolas Revire and Stephen A. Murphy. (Thailand: River Books and the Siam Society, 2014), 375-395.
[155] Woodward, 491.

Perhaps this lintel of Maheśa surmounting a Kṛṣṇa scene is a visual representation of a dominant Śivite religion over a Vaiṣṇavite faith. The appearance of a manifestation of Śiva over a manifestation of Kṛṣṇa may indicate a religious hierarchy of Śiva over Viṣṇu, and could, potentially relate to the religious concerns of this lintel's original temple site. If we are to accept that the lower figure is a representation of Kṛṣṇa, there is also a hypothetical assertion of religious dominance of Śaivism over Vaiṣṇavite being made.

Yet, as previously noted, Maheśa becomes co-opted into a Buddhist mandala in the 11th century which would align the depiction of a Maheśa with the period in which the Baphuon style was popular.[156] Yet, despite the prevalence of Maheśa during the 11th century and his integration into the Buddhist mandala, the lower Kṛṣṇa scene is not related to a logical Buddhist framework. A 12th century lintel from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3.21) depicts an unidentified, three-headed Buddha as the central figure. Perhaps this lintel, which is attributed to either Thailand or Cambodia, could suggest that the unusual five-headed figure in the JYMA lintel is a potential Buddhist divinity, yet, the specific Buddhist divinity is difficult to pinpoint. However, it remains unusual that the specific Kṛṣṇa scene would occur below a Buddhist divinity. Another lintel at Prasat Phimai contains a series of five, three-headed (crowned) and six armed figures seated in meditation. Conti has identified the arrangement of these figures as a "spread out" variation of a mandala of Akṣobhya at the center with his four jina buddhas (two flanking him on either side).[157] Other scholars, however, have sought to identify this central figure as a depiction of Vajrasattva, however, the iconography of the central figure is a better fit for the Conti's Akṣobhya identification because, in Khmer art, Vajrasattva does not hold the attributes held by

[156] Bunker, 503.
[157] Conti, "Tantric Buddhism at Phimai," 386.

the figure in the Prasat Phimai relief. The depiction of a possible Akṣobhya or Vajrasattva at Phimai, while a multi-armed and multi-headed tantric divinity, does not provide a very good comparison with the depiction of the five-headed, eight armed figure in the JYMA lintel.[158] Further research for comparable tantric divinity examples may reveal a plausible identification, however, it is not known at this time what exact divinity the uppermost figure in the JYMA lintel is intended to represent other than a possible manifestation of Śiva, perhaps Maheśa (attributed to the presence of the five heads).

Perhaps the inclusion of the Kṛṣṇa scene functions in a manner similar to other instances of Kṛṣṇa or *Ramayana* epics, in which there is no logical formula for the placement of the reliefs around the temple site.[159] Perhaps this JYMA lintel expresses the need to include (or consolidate) both a Buddhist subject and a Hindu epic in a single relief.

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[158] Ibid., 386.
Bruno Dagens, "Autour de l'iconographie de Phimai," Actes du Premier Symposium franco-thaïlandais. La Thaïlande des origins de son histoire aux XVème siècle. Bangkok:Silpakorn University (1995): 17-37.
Boisselier, *Le Cambodge*.
Trailokyavijaya could be another possibility entertained for an identifiable figure in the JYMA lintel, however in Khmer art, Trailokyavijaya is generally depicted with two arms. One could perhaps entertain the bottom figure in the JYMA to be a representation of Trailokyavijaya, however, one would expect him to be standing triumphant over a single figure instead of the grouping seen in the JYMA lintel. One would also expect a depiction of Trailokyavijaya to be making a gesture similar to the one seen in the bronze representation of the deity (now in the Bangkok National Museum. Inv. 2.271) instead of a double *abhaya* mudra made by the mystery figure.
Another lintel at Prasat Phimai depicts Cakrasamvara dancing on an elephant head. Again, it would be another instance of a forced argument to fit such an identification for the uppermost figure in the JYMA lintel. While Cakrasamvara has eight arms, his foremost two are not in the same positioning as the JYMA character. The absence of the fifth head, as well as the presence of the elephant skin in the Cakrasamvara relief at Phimai argues against this identification in the mystery lintel.
[159] Kṛṣṇa, *Ramayana*, and *Mahabarata* scenes around Khmer temple sites tend to depict instances of combat, victories, or other conflict. However, the appearance of these scenes are not consistent from temple to temple, nor do they appear in any logical order around the temple.

Whether it remains two Hindu scenes or a Buddhist and Hindu scene combined into a single lintel, or a completely esoteric Buddhist depiction, questions regarding the reason for this unusual "synthesis" arise. While Cambodia adapted Hindu and Buddhist religions from India in order to suit their own religious needs, it remains confusing as to how this specific JYMA lintel fits into the developing religious milieus of Angkor.[160] The JYMA lintel's composition may not appear in any known literary or visual program in Angkorian art, however, it may serve as an indicator for a moment in Angkorian history in which changes in religious systems were occurring, therefore justifying the momentary appearance of such an usual lintel. Bhattacharya has argued that religious syncretism was prevalent throughout Angkor's history. Through this blending of religious programs, there was never conflict between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism, but instead oscillations in which these religious systems experienced a dominant position due to royal patronage.[161] Perhaps this JYMA lintel represents a moment in which Śiva (in the form of Maheśa) experienced priority over worship of Viṣṇu (in the form of Kṛṣṇa). This same method could be applied to the JYMA lintel if we are instead to understand the uppermost figure to be a Buddhist divinity. Śiva-Buddhist melding during the Angkor period is well known, yet an identification of a Vaisnava-Buddhist syncretism has not been identified.[162] Bhattacharya has suggested, however, that the potential for a blending of Vaisnava and Buddhist belief systems at Angkor is not impossible.[163] Therefore, there may be some possibility in understanding this JYMA lintel as an authentic example of religious hybridity.

Directionality pertaining to the appearance of these lintel scenes has been considered, but no definite program has been successfully argued.

[160] Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Religious Syncretism in Ancient Cambodia," in Dharmadūta: mélanges offerts au venerable Thich Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième. 1-12.

[161] Ibid., 6

[162] Ibid., 10.

[163] Ibid.,10.

At Prasat Phnom Rung, located on the Korat Plateau of northeastern Thailand, we also see an instance in which both Śivate and Vaiṣṇavite imagery exists at a single religious complex. The K.384 inscription indicates that Narendratitya, the builder of Prasat Phnom Rung, was Śivate (most likely from the Pāśupatas sect) but that he also honored Viṣṇu and Brahma.[164] Phnom Rung is ripe with statuary and lintel reliefs which contain Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahma related imagery.[165] However, despite the appearance of Śiva and Viṣṇu at the temple site, they do not appear in a single, unified scene in a manner similar to the JYMA example. Hammond has suggested that specific reliefs at Prasat Phnom Rung may represent Narendratitya himself in moments of victory as described in the K.384 inscription.[166] Thus, an alternate identification for the lower figures in the JYMA relief could be that of a Khmer king or patron of the temple site, instead of a second, subsidiary deity. Perhaps this could also account for the relatively simple, human-like appearance of all three of the figures in the lower scene. However, without knowledge of the original temple site of the JYMA lintel, or any accompanying inscriptions, this hypothesis is one that can only be entertained, but not ultimately confirmed.

A final thought about the odd composition is the possibility that, while this lintel appears to represent a Baphuon style lintel when images of Kṛṣṇa were prevalent, perhaps we are not looking at a hybrid Śiva above Viṣṇu scene, but instead a visual composition that includes two representations of Śiva. Perhaps the Maheśa identification for the presiding deity is correct, but instead the lower scene is not a battle depicting Kṛṣṇa, but instead a possible moment of combat depicting another form of Śiva. In this scene from Angkor Wat (fig. 3.20), Śiva is seen defeating

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[164] Sarah Hammond, "Prasat Phnom Rung: A Khmer Temple in Thailand," in *Arts of Asia* 18 4, (1988): 61.
[165] Hammond also suggests that no evidence of Buddhist imagery was ever found at Prasat Phnom Rung.
[166] Hammond, 64.

an opponent trapped under his feet. However, in this instance, we see Śiva depicted with multiple arms instead of the typical convention of two. Could this lintel from the JYMA be attempting to depict this episode, but instead represents Śiva's typical depiction with two arms. The damage to the lintel prevents any detailed recognition, however, during the Baphuon period, Śiva can be depicted with a conical hairstyle and a diadem. Further research into a possible double Śiva representation needs to be conducted in order to find supporting examples for this interpretation of the JYMA composition.

The difficulty in understanding the identity of the four figures on the JYMA lintel is, in part, due to the immense wear to the stone itself, hence removing any detail and most importantly, any attributes that would have been held in the hands of the uppermost figure that could have assisted in securing an identification. The unusual composition is one that is not seen elsewhere in the Angkor period. Despite the potential for hybridity or transitions between religions, the identification of the figures and their specific combination is still too convoluted to secure a logical identification. The absence of inscriptions or knowledge of the lintel's original temple site also complicates the potential interpretation that this lintel may represent a Khmer elite in combat. Until similar compositions are found from the Angkor period, the authenticity of this lintel remains difficult to confirm.

CHAPTER 4: FRAGMENTS & EMPIRE: CAMBODIAN ART FROM THE ANGKOR PERIOD

Fragments & Empire: Cambodian Art from the Angkor Period opened on March 6, 2016 and ran until May 6, 2016 in the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The exhibition was envisioned as a component of this MA thesis in South and Southeast Asian Art History. The exhibition displayed all of the Khmer art in the JYMA, while also including ten digital loans from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA).[167] The exhibition served as the opportunity to re-unite a significant portion of Young's original collection in a single exhibition space. A detailed account of the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition, its concept, and specific constraints and successes are detailed in the following sections.

Re-uniting the collection & digital loans

John Young's original collection of Khmer art, in its current state, is divided between two main museums on the island of O‘ahu, Hawai‘i , the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA) and the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA). The remainder of Young's art collection is believed to have been dispersed among private collectors and family who were either gifted portions of the collection by Young, or purchased artwork as part of his estate sale after his passing. While it was not possible to include any portions of the private collections in this exhibition, the collaboration between the JYMA and the HoMA allowed for the development of *Fragments & Empire*.

The assembled Young collection of Khmer art is piecemeal and does not appear to have originated from the same Angkor temple site or historic period in Angkor's history. The

[167] The exhibition would have been more cohesive if it had only displayed sandstone artworks and not the bronze finials and Khmer jars, which were not the focus of this thesis research.

sandstone lions which appear in the JYMA collection (see appendix A-10) are most likely to have been an original pair. Young's collecting preferences emphasized Viṣṇu images as well as Buddhist subject matter.[168]

During the Spring of 2015, the exhibition component was proposed and approved by the Department of Art and Art History. During that time, the Honolulu Museum of Art also agreed to participate in the exhibition through the use of digital loans instead of physical loans. This agreement was reached for several reasons. From a practical standpoint, the renovations of the JYMA over the 2014-2015 academic year and into the Fall of 2015 would have made a suitable facilities report impossible. In addition, the JYMA would have had to improve the security measures of the museum's building in order to ensure the safety of physical loans from the HoMA. Finally, while the desire for physical loans was appealing, the size of these sandstone artworks from the HoMA would have made only one object loan possible if the ideal requirements were met by the JYMA. This single loan would not have had a significant impact for the purpose of re-uniting the Young collection and speaking to multiple issues of Khmer art. Instead, the proposal and implementation of a digital loan system for a smaller museum, such as the JYMA, has proved to be of greater value in the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition. The HoMA was able to provide ten digital loans for the exhibition.[169]

In past exhibitions, the HoMA has utilized the application KioskPro to display complete, full color, scanned versions of Japanese woodblock print books that could be read in their

[168] The majority of Buddhist art collected by Young appears in the Honolulu Museum of Art.
[169] The digital loans were approved by the Honolulu Museum of Art, Asian Art Curator, Dr. Shawn Eichman and the past Honolulu Museum of Art Director, Stephan Jost. There were originally eleven digital loans that were approved, however, due to the physical quality of a sandstone Brahma statue in the HoMA collection, it was decided by the museum that the sculpture was not suitable for viewing. The list was then reduced to ten images.

entirety by museum visitors in a digital format. This format bypassed any risk that would come to the physical object from visitor handling and eliminated the limitations of being able to display only two pages of a multiple page book for the duration of the exhibition. This same KioskPro application was used in the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition (see Appendix B-9a and B-9b) which allowed visitors to interact with nine of the digital loans provided by the HoMA.[170] As mentioned above, due to the size of these sandstone artworks, it would have been impossible to bring more than one object into the JYMA exhibition space. In addition, the opportunity to interact with the HoMA digital loans enabled viewers to engage with works in another way by allowing them to zoom in to the high-resolution photographs of the image and examine details of the artworks. In addition, the exhibition text for the digital loans included thematic sections labeled "A History of Collecting", giving visitors the opportunity to learn more about major themes pertaining to Khmer art.[171]

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[170] The digital portion of the exhibition was created on Wordpress. The content that appears on the electronic tablets in the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition can be viewed at: https://fragmentsandempireblog.wordpress.com/ (last accessed March 27, 2016). The use of a Wordpress was an ideal choice in the instance that the JYMA also needed to make changes or use the account. In addition, quick changes could be made to the Wordpress remotely in the instance that there were errors that needed to be edited. The account is password locked in order to view the Wordpress. This was designed in order to protect the digital loan images from the HoMA which were not permitted to be reproduced outside of this thesis and the exhibition.
The decision to place nine out of the ten digital images on the electronic tablets was due to the tenth digital loan (see Appendix A6) taking a larger role in the galley and displayed on the LCD monitor towards the front of the exhibition. This LCD monitor looped four images of this lintel and allowed visitors to see large details of the artwork that would not be as clearly conveyed on the Wordrpress.
The Wordpress also has the option to provide basic statistics regarding visitor interaction with the digital loans. As of March 27, 2016, there have been 1,996 views to the Wordpress, and 467 views on the opening day for *Fragments & Empire*.
The *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel was the tenth digital loan from the HoMA. It was treated differently than the nine artworks displayed on the iPads. A discussion of the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel in the exhibition space appears later in this chapter.

[171] A further detail of these thematic labels will be discussed later in this chapter.

The digital component that was created expanded the opportunity to bring in digital loans from the HoMA's Khmer art collection that could support the exhibition's narrative and speak to specific themes that were lacking in the Young collection. Four of the ten digital loans were not from Young's original collection, however, these other artworks were able to elaborate on particular ideas in support of the Young artworks. A free-standing statue of Prajñāpāramitā from the Bayon period (see Appendix A-20) allowed for additional discussion of the development of Buddhism during the Angkor period, and also of an earlier 10th century relief depicting the Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā (see Appendix A-4) that was gifted to the HoMA by Young. The non-John Young artworks were intended to enhance the discussion of thematic and religious developments in Khmer art that couldn't be addressed with the Young collection. In addition, the Male Torso (see Appendix A-8) served as an example of drapery styles that developed during the Angkor period, while the sandstone Nāga Finial (see Appendix A-5) filled in the blanks regarding details that were missing from the JYMA Nāga Finial (see Appendix A-7) and allowed visitors to re-imagine the damaged artwork as it may have appeared in its original state. The final non-Young collection digital loan, Head of an Apsara (see Appendix A-16), was also of great value in briefly introducing the visitors to a history of research on the Angkor period and presenting the artwork's own biography, which included prior possession by the École française d'Extrême-Orient (ÉFEO).

Evolution of the layout: changes, restrictions, and the impact of the visitor experience

During the initial planning stages for *Fragments & Empire*, several layouts were considered for the exhibition. The first was a design proposal by a Museum Interpretations student, Emily Mount, during the Spring 2015. At the time of collaboration with Mount, the

exhibition proposal and thesis were still in the process of approval. Therefore, Mount's layout reflected an exhibition space which emphasized all Khmer art objects in the JYMA collection. The student provided a draft of the gallery space which imagined the layout and theme of the exhibition speaking to all three mediums (stone, bronze, and ceramics). Mount's contribution was helpful in the initial planning stages for the exhibition, but will not be further discussed.

During the initial thesis proposal, it was intended that all the JYMA artworks of sandstone, bronze, and stoneware would be addressed through extended label text. This proposed layout (fig. 4.1) deviated from organizing the majority of the collection according to medium or following an organization that flowed chronologically or by medium, and instead was organized with the intention of facilitating meaningful connections through the display of objects side-by-side.[172] For example, one of the cases included a *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel (see Appendix A-13) which would be displayed next to two smaller bronze finials which also contained depictions of Garuda.[173] This case would have prompted visitors to consider depictions of Viṣṇu's *vahana* (animal mount) and the importance of this divinity throughout Angkor's history.

The proposed layout was organized with the intention of encouraging visitors to actively navigate through the exhibition space. Sandstone artworks that would have been placed at the front of Angkorian temple sites, such as the Nāga Finial (see Appendix A-5) and the Sandstone Lions (see Appendix A-10) would greet the visitor upon entry. The remainder of the gallery space was organized with the intention of visitors generating meaningful thematic

[172] The exception to this was displaying the stoneware side-by-side.
[173] The *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel (Appendix A-13) appears to have switched places with another lintel, *Viṣṇu Flanked by Two Figures* (Appendix A-14). It is unknown why the JYMA decided to deviate from the exhibition layout and make this change for the Exhibition. It is possible that this could have been a misreading of the layout and the two lintels were mistakenly transposed.

connections.[174] Prior to this exhibition, the JYMA displayed their collection with all the cases lined up against the walls. This created a static effect in the gallery with a wide, central space that revealed the entire collection to the visitor upon entering the exhibition space. The desired thematic organization for the narrative was lost. For the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition, I did not seek to re-create this rectangular, open layout. The digital tablets running KioskPro were envisioned as existing in three different points of the gallery where visitors would be able to access the digital loans and label text. This placement served as a nearby reference for anyone looking to make comparisons between the digital loans and the physical collection.[175]

The scope of research needed in order to adequately assess all three mediums (sandstone, stoneware, and bronze) in time for this exhibition would have extended past the constraints of the third and final thesis year and in time for the opening. It was decided early in the Fall of 2015 that the exhibition and thesis research would focus exclusively on the sandstone artworks from the Young collection.[176] This change was relayed to the JYMA, however, the museum staff requested that the stoneware vessels as well as the bronze objects remain in the exhibition, in spite of the fact that these objects would not be researched.[177] Therefore, the proposed exhibition layout (fig. 4.1) was expected to remain unchanged. However, only the sandstone objects in the exhibition would receive extended labels with interpretive texts, while the stoneware and bronze

---

[175] A majority of the labels in this exhibition mention comparisons with other physical and digital artworks.

[176] The bronze objects in the JYMA collection also pose questions of authenticity that would be difficult to avoid addressing in extended labels and which would have been inappropriate in the context of this project.

[177] Due to the re-opening of the JYMA, it was the preference of the museum to maintain all three mediums as an opportunity to reveal the entirety of the Khmer art collection to the public. This posed a problem since visitors would not know why there were only tombstone labels for some of the objects.

objects would only receive tombstone (identification) labels. Further research into the stoneware and bronze objects was suspended and the identification used for the objects is what appeared in the JYMA's database prior to the undertaking of this project.[178]

The decision by the JYMA to display their entire collection of Khmer art was disadvantageous to the exhibition in a number of ways. In general, the need to include all three mediums confused the art historical narrative that was developed and presented in the gallery. The extended label texts only addressed the sandstone artworks and asked visitors to consider these objects and not the other two mediums. Similarly, the thematic labels, which appear on the electronic tablets, only address issues of sandstone architectural elements and the Khmer temple program. Another major disadvantage that resulted was a change to the layout due to space concerns. During the planning stages of the exhibition, the layout (fig. 4.1) was approved during the Summer of 2015. However, it was later discovered that the finalized layout could not meet ADA requirements and the cases were not able to fit within the exhibition space properly.[179] If the stoneware and bronze portions of the collection were removed from the exhibition, the proposed layout (fig. 4.1) had the potential to have been preserved and meet necessary ADA requirements, and the gallery would not have appeared as it presently does (see Appendix B), which essentially maintains the original JYMA gallery layout before renovation. This placement

[178] The only change that was made to the records on the bronze objects was a revision to the stylistic attribution. The labels now read, "In the style of the Angkor Period" instead of "Angkor period". This is due to their questionable authenticity and need to subtly acknowledge this issue in the exhibition without calling major attention to the artworks or the questions that surround them, many of which can only be conclusively resolved through costly technical analysis. However, if extended object labels were allowed, the bronzes would have provided a key opportunity to discuss the role of counterfeiting or reproducing Angkor period art for sale on the art market.

[179] The JYMA is also a space that is used for various workshops, lectures, and classes. It is unknown as to whether or not this also had a significant factor in maintaining the exhibition space with the cases placed against the walls, leaving the large, central rectangular space.

of the exhibition cases against the walls also restricted visitors from appreciating the objects in the round, one of the original curatorial intentions. The *Head of a Deity (Probably Śiva)* (See Appendix A19), would have been valuable to observe in the round, particularly the diadem in the back, because it would have offered visitors the opportunity to observe how such a headpiece was worn. The backs of the lintels, while not visually appealing, would have also been beneficial to have on view to display practical aspects of the lintels such as the ways in which they would have been attached to a Khmer temple.

On the other hand, one change made was an improvement over the proposed layout. The *Lintel with two Deities* (see Appendix A-9) was moved to the back of the exhibition space and placed against the back wall. This provided a better sightline in the gallery as the visitor entered the exhibition space (see Appendix B-1 and B-3). This also assisted in anchoring two of the major works in the exhibition space at the front and back of the gallery. The *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel from the HoMA (see Appendix A-6), was displayed on the LCD monitor at the front of the exhibition (see Appendix B-4). The monitor cycled through four images of the lintel. The first was a full image of the relief, while the following three displayed detailed views of the artworks. This high-resolution photography, combined with the display on the monitor brought this specific digital loan into the gallery space and provided it with a greater physical presence than the remainder of the HoMA loans on the electronic tablets. The ability to view the details of this lintel also functions as a way for visitors to appreciate the artwork in a way that that is not possible in the display of this piece at the HoMA today (see chapter 2).

Color and unused space

The JYMA itself has limited wall-space that can be painted, however, the title wall and the main entrance wall could have been painted with another color instead of white and the use of other vinyl graphics or stencils could have been implemented similar to the way the UH Art Gallery approached their *Binding and Looping* exhibition. However, due to the time constraints of the gallery staff and the timeline for the exhibition, these issues were, regrettably, not addressed (see Appendix B1, B2, and B4). If there had been an opportunity to use the blank wall (see Appendix B2), the intention was to incorporate a map or projection of a map that illustrated mainland Southeast Asia and the extent of the Angkorian empire. This would have assisted the visitor in orienting themselves to the region and its history

Another option for incorporating a feature on the blank wall could have been to use an enlargement of the Khmer Temple Diagram (see Appendix A-1). This would have been another beneficial feature for the exhibition in which the visitor would be confronted with the temple diagram at the start of the exhibition. It was requested by the curator of the exhibition that this diagram be printed and placed in the exhibition, however, this was never done (due to time constraints of the gallery staff) and the Khmer temple diagram had to be relegated to the electronic tablets in its own thematic section.

Labels

The labels for the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition were organized in four parts: introductory wall text, thematic labels, extended labels, and digital labels. The following sections describe the process and edits that were made to the four label types. Appendix A contains the

original label text submitted to the JYMA. Specific changes made to the labels are noted in the sections below.

Introductory wall text

The introductory wall text was originally written to address the extent of the Angkorian empire throughout mainland Southeast Asia, a basic introduction to the Khmer temple, and to primarily address the fragmentary nature of the sandstone objects in the exhibition and how they came to be in museums and private collections. This label was integral for setting up the overall narrative of the exhibition. However, the JYMA suggested changes to the introductory wall text and it was decided that the original introductory text in appendix A be changed to a version used for the *Fragments & Empire* exhibition press release. The finalized wall text appears below:

> *Fragments & Empire* reunites John Young's collection of Cambodian (or Khmer) art dating to the time of the Angkor Empire, which dominated much of mainland Southeast Asia from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries. It includes examples of sandstone architectural fragments, ceremonial bronzes, and stoneware vessels associated with the styles of the imperial capital as well as their transmission into peripheral regions of modern-day northeastern Thailand.
>
> All of the sandstone sculptures in this exhibition have been removed from their original contexts as Khmer temple art and now survive piecemeal and in various states of preservation. These "fragments" invite us to envision their original placement and function in Khmer temples, as well as consider some of the important subjects of Khmer art in order to shed light on Angkor's religious milieu. Through comparative art historical analysis, the sculptures also reflect the active transition from one artistic style to the next in conjunction with the expansion of the Angkorian empire.
>
> This exhibition brings together for the first time the collections of Cambodian art from the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) and a significant portion of John Young's collection from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA). The digital images of HoMA's collection are viewable on the electronic tablets displayed throughout the gallery.

The JYMA suggested the change to the press release version due to gallery constraints regarding word count for the introductory wall text (see Appendix B-1). In addition, the gallery staff and

the JYMA preferred the revised introductory wall text because it spoke to all three mediums present in the exhibition, as well as placing the initial focus on John Young (neither of which were the goals of the curator).

Thematic labels

Thematic labels were also created for the exhibition. During the initial proposal of these thematic labels, it was requested that they be printed out and installed in various areas of the exhibition to pose thematic questions to visitors. However, the JYMA staff limited the number of thematic labels that could be printed for this exhibition to three, and, despite the request for physical labels, they were not printed for the exhibition, and the thematic labels had to instead appear on the digital tablets.

The decision not to print the thematic labels impacted the exhibition as the visitors were not presented with a readily accessible diagram of a Khmer temple or nor, due to their removal from the initial introductory wall text, were the larger questions regarding the fragmentary nature of the collection or the Khmer temple program conspicuously presented. It would have been helpful for visitors to have the diagram of the Khmer temple (see Appendix A1) conveniently presented on the wall so that they would be able to match key architectural terms to the temple diagram and generate a greater understanding of how the works in the exhibition relate to their original context as parts of an architectural monument.

Printed labels

As mentioned previously, only the sandstone objects in the exhibition had extended labels. The aim of the extended labels was to speak to specific thematic ideas regarding Angkor's

religious milieu, stylistic developments, and the possibility of multiple identifications for specific artworks. In order to contextualize artworks that are fragmentary and removed from their original context, the extended labels were to provide substantive art historical information for visitors unfamiliar with Khmer art or the Angkor period. Due to the ambiguity of certain figures depicted in Khmer art, it was also important to supply visitors with labels that spoke to the possibility of multiple identifications instead of settling on a single identification. The label for *Viśvakarman or Yama Flanked by Two Attendants* (see Appendix A11) offers visitors two possible interpretations. Irregularities in the sandstone fragments, such as the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* (see Appendix A13), were also addressed in which later modifications to the sandstone, resulted in a triangular-like appearance that was not intended as part of the original lintel design.

Upon submission of the printed labels to the JYMA, it was argued by the museum that the labels were too long and did not follow exhibition label requirements similar to those outlined by exhibition designers, such as Beverly Serrell.[180] However, due to the relatively esoteric nature of the artworks as they now appear in the JYMA collection, providing readily seen interpretive text was crucial for visitors. I did not elect to abide by Serrell's standards for labels, but instead looked to examples in exhibition catalogues of Khmer art, such as *L'Art khmer dans les collections du Musée Guimet* and *Millennium of Glory*. As the exhibition is a component of this MA thesis, it is appropriate that some labels, such as the HoMA's Viṣṇu on Garuda (see Appendix A6), provided a lengthier art historical discussion of stylistic developments during the 10th century and the relationship to Angkor's shifting political landscape.

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[180] Beverly Serrell, *Exhibit Labels* (California: Altamira Press, 1996).
Beverly Serrell suggests that labels need to be visitor-friendly at an introductory level. Serrell's example of a typical, short-label type does not extend past three sentences or simple paragraphs.

In addition, the religious themes that appear in many of the lintels are difficult to describe in a limited number of words while still remaining accurate or abiding by current developments in the field of research. An example of one such problem during the editing process pertains to the *Fragment Depicting either Yama or Śiva* (see Appendix A12). In this label, the question arose as to why Śiva's *vāhana* could not be simplified to "the bull, Nandin." This is a demonstration of a dispute between popular association and current research into the relationship between Śiva's *vāhana*, who is often associated with Śiva's companion, Nandin, but is rarely identified as such in pre-modern Indian sources.[181] In the finalized label, the section on Śiva reads:

> Both Yama and Śiva have a bovine *vāhana*, which may cause ambiguity in determining the identity of the figure. More specifically, Yama rides on a buffalo, and Śiva rides on a bull.

In order to prevent the perpetuation of the inaccurate facile association of Śiva's *vāhana* with Nandin/Nandi, the requested simplification was not included in the finalized label.

The *Head of a Deity (Probably Śiva)* (see Appendix A19) was the only label that was required to be edited down per the request of the gallery staff due to the limitations of the case size for the artwork. Because the head was the only example of figural sculpture in the JYMA collection, the original label included a detailed discussion of relevant issues and a further discussion on looting and the removal of Khmer art from temple sites. The removed portion of the label was re-worked into the digital labels for the figural sculpture provided by the HoMA. The finalized version of the printed label for *Head of a Deity (Probably Śiva)* reads:

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[181] Pratapaditya Pal, "Revisiting the "Vrsa/Nandi" Issue," in *Prajnadhara*, ed. Gerd J.R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji. (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2009), 413-417. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, "Nandin and Vrsabha," in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, ed. Herausgegeben Von Wolfgang Voigt. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag Gmbh, 1977), 1545-1567.

> This head may depict the Hindu god Śiva, a popular deity worshiped by the kings of the Angkor period. In this sandstone head, above the weather-worn diadem (jeweled crown or headband) and in the center of the cylindrical hairstyle, a crescent moon symbolizes Śiva's mastery over time. A third eye, with which he burned Kama (desire), may have also once appeared in the center of the forehead and would have helped confirm this identification. Unlike the Hindu god Viṣṇu, who in Khmer art is often portrayed as a king, Śiva's anthropomorphic (human) depiction represents him as an ascetic (hermit). Śiva is a god of paradox who embodies both destructive and creative capabilities. While Śiva is the ideal ascetic who practices *yoga* alone in the forest, he can also fulfill the role of the model husband and father for his wife, Parvati, and his sons, Ganesha and Skanda. Figural sculpture from the Angkor period typically depicts the god in his ascetic form, however, many other manifestations of Śiva were also popular throughout the Angkor period.
>
> Sculptures of deities in the round would not have appeared on the exterior of Angkorian temple complexes. While ferocious and fantastic creatures such as serpents, lions, and *dvarapala* (door or gate guardians) would have adorned the outside of Angkorian temples to protect the site, free-standing sculptures of Hindu and Buddhist figures would have always been installed in shrines inside the temple. Further examples of Khmer figural sculpture from the Honolulu Museum of Art can be found on the iPads in the exhibition.

The final change that was made to the physical labels in the exhibition was the elimination of the "?" after dates or period styles. The inclusion of the question mark was intended to signal to the visitor the intention of questioning the date of certain artworks in the exhibition assigned by the HoMA or the JYMA in their records. The *Viṣṇu on Garuda* (see Appendix A6) lintel originally had a date which read, "Bakheng style, 10th century (?)". Because this date was given to the lintel by the HoMA, and one that was extensively questioned in both the artwork's interpretive text and chapter 3 of this thesis, I wanted to signal to the viewer the need to question the date. However, the JYMA staff was uncomfortable with the use of the "?" in the dating, despite the explanation that it was necessary and enriched the discussion of the lintel. The removal of the "?" in the final version of the label also significantly impacted the label itself and, as it read to the visitor, contradicted the extended label text which interrogated the 10th century dating and the attribution of the Bakheng style.

Digital labels

The digital labels, unlike the printed label in the exhibition, did not need to be shortened.[182] In addition, sub-sections were created in the labels (see Appendix A) which allowed visitors to read more on thematic content related to the specific artworks from the HoMA. Titled, "A History of Collecting," these sections dealt with Khmer art research, repatriation, and looting. The digital labels also identified whether or not the digital loans were currently on display at the Honolulu Museum of Art in order to urge visitors to visit the museum and view the art in-person.

[182] This is also in-part due to the fact that the JYMA staff did not edit these labels.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was produced as a hybrid of both a traditional written thesis and a practical exhibition component. The creation of *Fragments & Empire: Cambodian Art from the Angkor Period* allowed for the opportunity to present a collection of Khmer art and ask visitors to consider the concept of fragmentation and the role Khmer art had during its historic moment and into the present-day. The exhibition not only addressed the piecemeal nature of their modern-day appearance in the JYMA, but also invited visitors to consider their original function as part of the Khmer temple program. The inclusion of the digital tablets in the museum space allowed for another layer of engaging with the concept of fragmentation through re-uniting portions of the John Young collection at the HoMA as well as other examples of Khmer art that were absent from the Young collection (but spoke to larger themes of Angkor's religious milieu).

However, this exhibition also shed light on improvements that could have been made in order to strengthen the discussion of Khmer art. *Fragments and Empire: Cambodian art from the Angkor Period* focused heavily on the role of fragmentation pertaining to the artworks on display. However, the "empire" discussion was not as clearly woven throughout the exhibition's narrative. Should this exhibition have been re-designed to speak exclusively to the two themes of "fragments" and "empire" without also looking to feature all the JYMA collection of Khmer art, it may have been possible to produce an exhibition with only the two sandstone lintels discussed in the written component of this thesis (Fig. A-6 and A-9). By using these two lintels as central pivots of the exhibition, and important case studies, a layered discussion could have been produced to speak to the multivalent issues surrounding each artwork. This could have also circumvented the issues regarding "long labels" which would have allowed for a single, long label, to be divided into multiple labels for a single lintel on display.

While the exhibition component was experimental and discussed the John Young sandstone collection as a nearly-complete whole, the written component of this thesis has served as the opportunity to consider two key lintels, which appeared in the exhibition as important case studies of Khmer art. A thorough discussion of these lintels in chapter two and chapter three could not have been achieved though exhibition wall text (unless the exhibition itself was completely re-designed). Therefore, the benefit of analyzing the *Viṣṇu on Garuda* lintel from the HoMA and the *Lintel with Two Deities* from the JYMA has served as the opportunity to consider two very different concerns when dealing with Khmer lintels when appearing in a museum setting. Chapter 2 considered issues of stylistic dating and the need to openly address transitional style that were occurring throughout the Angkor period. These shifts from one temple style to another did not happen organically, nor was it purely a choice of sculptors and workshops. Instead these variances that developed during the mid-late 10th century may parallel with the shifting political environment as competing power centers arose outside of Angkor's capital.

While chapter two dealt with the relationship between political and religious developments expressed in the visual style of lintels, chapter 3 instead considers the role of the *Lintel with Two Deities* which appears as an anomaly when attempting to place it within the art historical record and whether or not it expresses issues of authenticity versus specific religious changes that are not-yet known at Angkor and may be, instead, a reflection of a development along regions of the empire's periphery in Northeastern Thailand.

As the JYMA continues its role as an educational museum and learning center, there is the potential for another Cambodian Art History student or researcher to re-visit their Khmer art collection and find another way in which to educate the public on its collection. It is one of the major goals of this thesis project to emphasize the importance of discussing Angkorian art in

Hawai‘i museums and hopefully generate future interest and research into the Cambodian art collections found on the island of O‘ahu. The Head of an Apsara (Fig A-16) is one of the artworks featured in *Fragments and Empire* which deserves further research and may contain a biography linking the HoMA and the ÉFEO.

ADDITIONAL IMAGES

Fig. 2.1
Bakhong, Northeastern Exterior, Eastern Face with a Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel
Source: Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966), 144.

fig. 2.2 - *Lintel with Viṣṇu on Garuda (detail)*
Cambodia, Bakheng Style, 10th century
Sandstone, Gift of John Young, 1991
Honolulu Museum of Art (6699.1)

fig. 2.3 - *Lintel with Viṣṇu on Garuda (detail)*
Prasat Sralao, central sanctuary, Siem Reap, Angkor Period, Banteay Srei Style, 3rd quarter of the 10th century, Sandstone, National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka1819)
Source: Nadine Dalsheimer, Les collections du musée national de Phnom Penh L'art du Cambodge ancien, (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2001), 196-197.

fig. 2.4– *Finial with dancing figure*
Cambodia, Angkorian style, 10th century
Gilt bronze
Honolulu Museum of Art

fig. 2.5
Lintel with Viṣṇu on Garuda
End of the 9th century
Prasat Kok Po A, Preah Ko Style
Sandstone
Musée Guimet, (MG18217)
Source: Pierre Baptiste and Thierry Zéphir, L'Art khmer dans les collections du musée Guimet, (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008), 112-113.

Fig. 2.6 *Lintel with Garuda and Nagas*
Perhaps Ko Po, Prasat D, Preah Ko style,
Late 9th-early 10th century, 875-925
Stone
Cleveland Museum of Art (1967.37)
Source: ArtStor

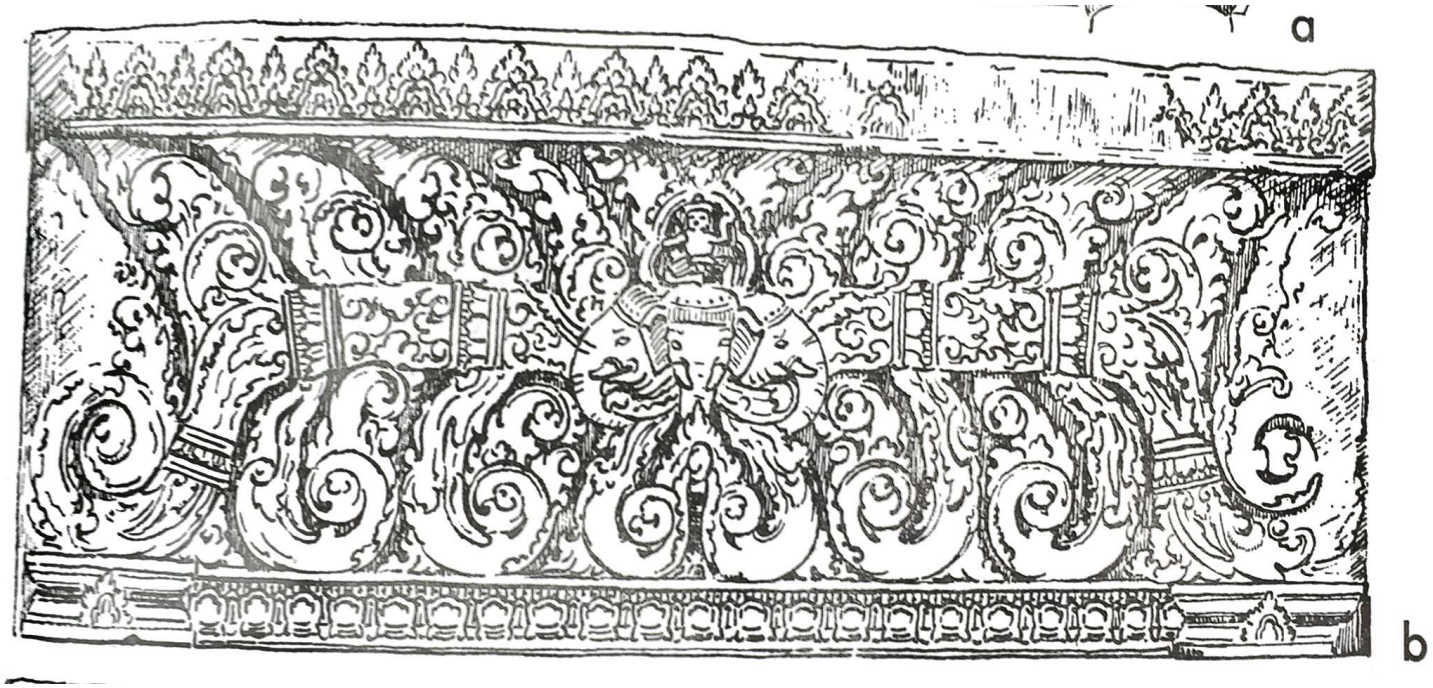


fig. 2.7 – *Phnom Bàkheng Drawing*
Source: Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge,* (Paris: A. et J Picard, 1966), 144.

fig. 2.8 – *Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel* from Wat Prang Thong, Muang district, Nakhon Ratchasima province, Bakheng style, Bakheng period, beginning of the 10th century

Source: Smitthi, Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels*, 82-83.

fig. 2.9 – *Lintel from Prasat Phnom Wan*, Muang District, Nakhon Ratchasima province
Bakheng Style, end of Bakheng period, dating to the first half of the 10th century
Source: Piriya Krairiksh, *Roots of Thai Art*, (Thailand: River Books, 2012.

fig. 2.10 *Viṣṇu on Garuda*
Prasat Kravan
Central Tower Group, Shrine, North Wall, Interior, 921
Brick with bas-reliefs, originally polychrome
Source: Paul Lavy

fig. 2.11 – *Viṣṇu on Garuda Lintel* Praat Kravan
Source: Paul Lavy

fig. 2.12 - *Garuda*
Preah Vihear, Koh Ker style,
Stone
National Museum, Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Source: ArtStor

fig. 2.13
Indra on Airavata, Prachin Buri, National Museum, Prachin Buri, Koh Ker style, Koh Ker period, first half of the 10th century, sandstone. Source: Smitthi, Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels*, 87.

fig. 2.14 – *Indra on Airavata*
Prasat Damrei 269, Cambodia
Koh Ker style, sandstone
Source: Smitthi, Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels*, 87.

fig. 2.15
Durga triumphing over Mahisasura (the buffalo demon)
Prasat Muang Khaek, Sung Noen district, Nakhon Ratchasimja province
Koh Ker style, end of Koh Ker to early Pre Rup, dating to the mid of the 10th century
sandstone
Source: Smitthi, Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels*, 89.

fig. 3.1a
Lintel with Two Deities
(proper right bottom view)
Angkor, 11th-13th century
Sandstone
John Young Museum of Art
(1998.1.59)

fig. 3.1b
Lintel with Two Deities
(proper left bottom view)
Angkor, 11th-13th century
Sandstone
John Young Museum of Art
(1998.1.59)

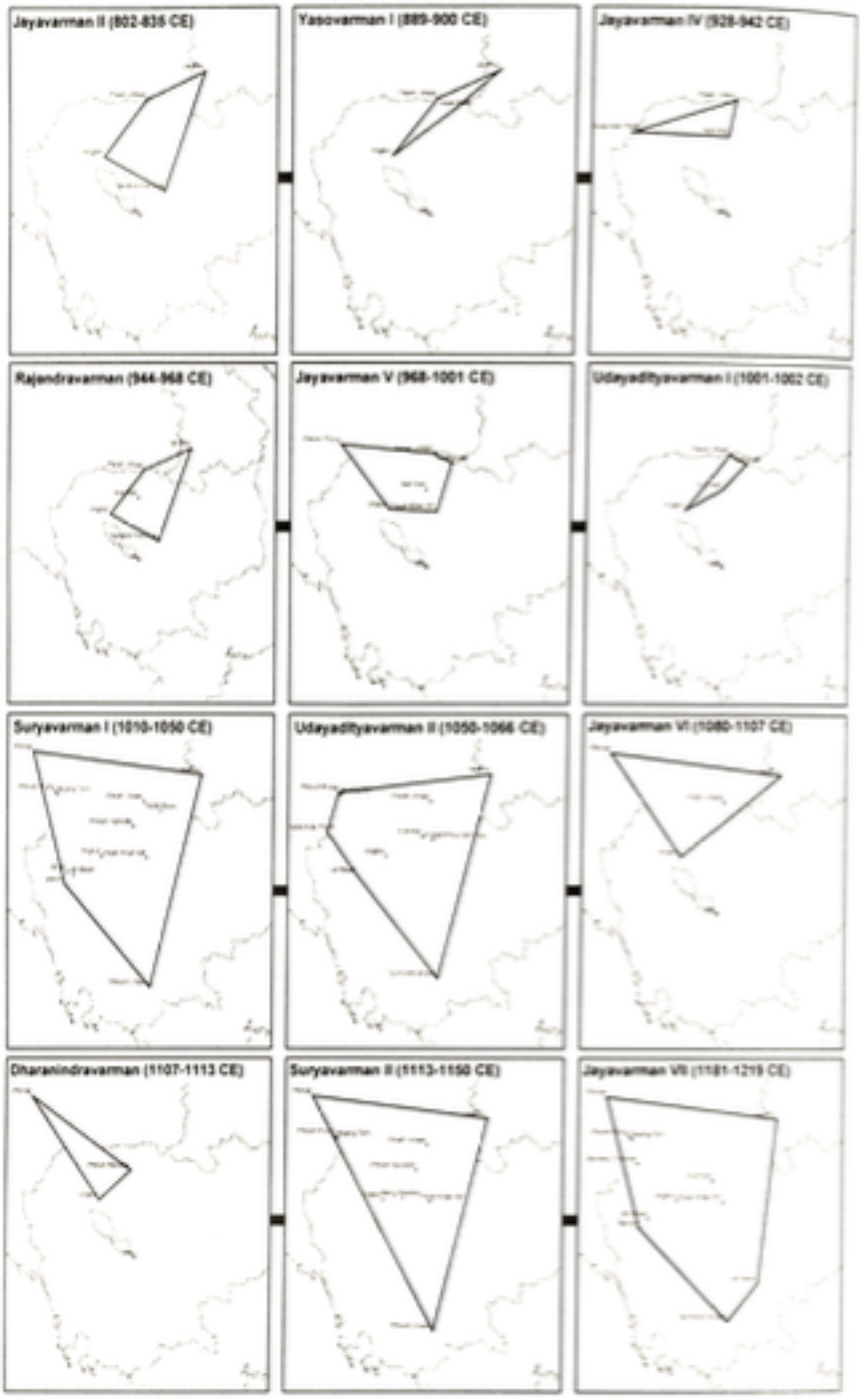


fig. 3.2 – *Communication corridors controlled by Angkorian kings between the 9th and 13th centuries CE*. Source: Hendrickson, Mitch. "Connecting the dots". in *Old Myths and New Approaches*, edited by. Alexandra Haendel. Australia: Monash University Publishing, 2012. 91-94.

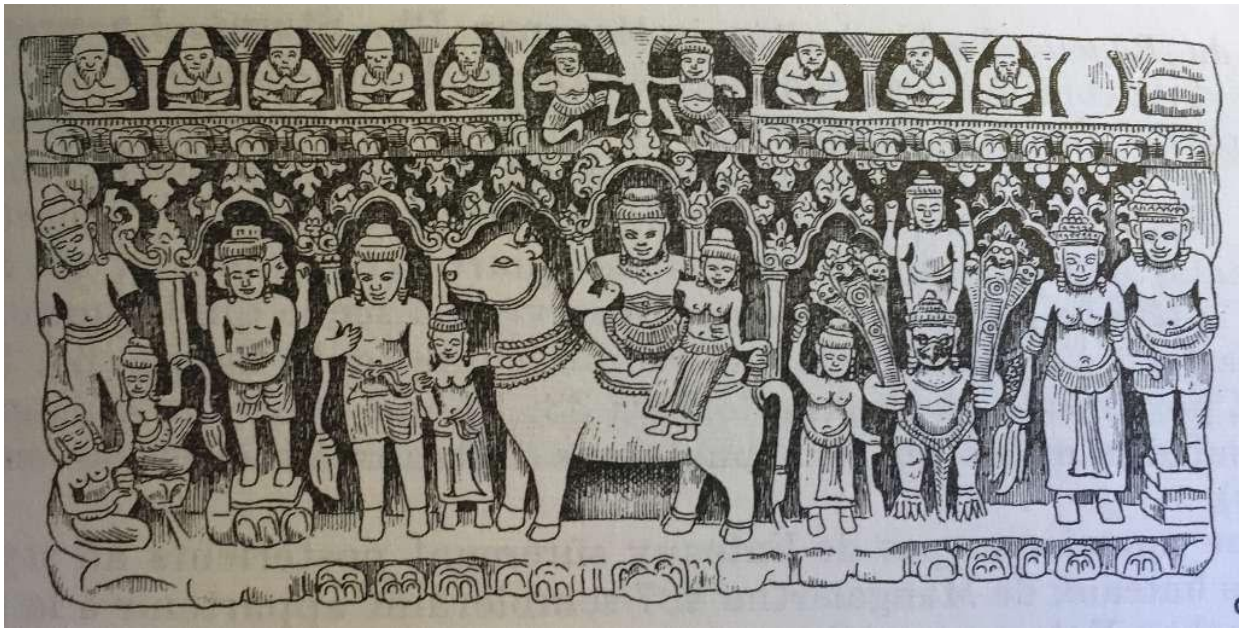


fig. 3.3
Drawing depicting a fully inhabited lintel type
Source: Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966)

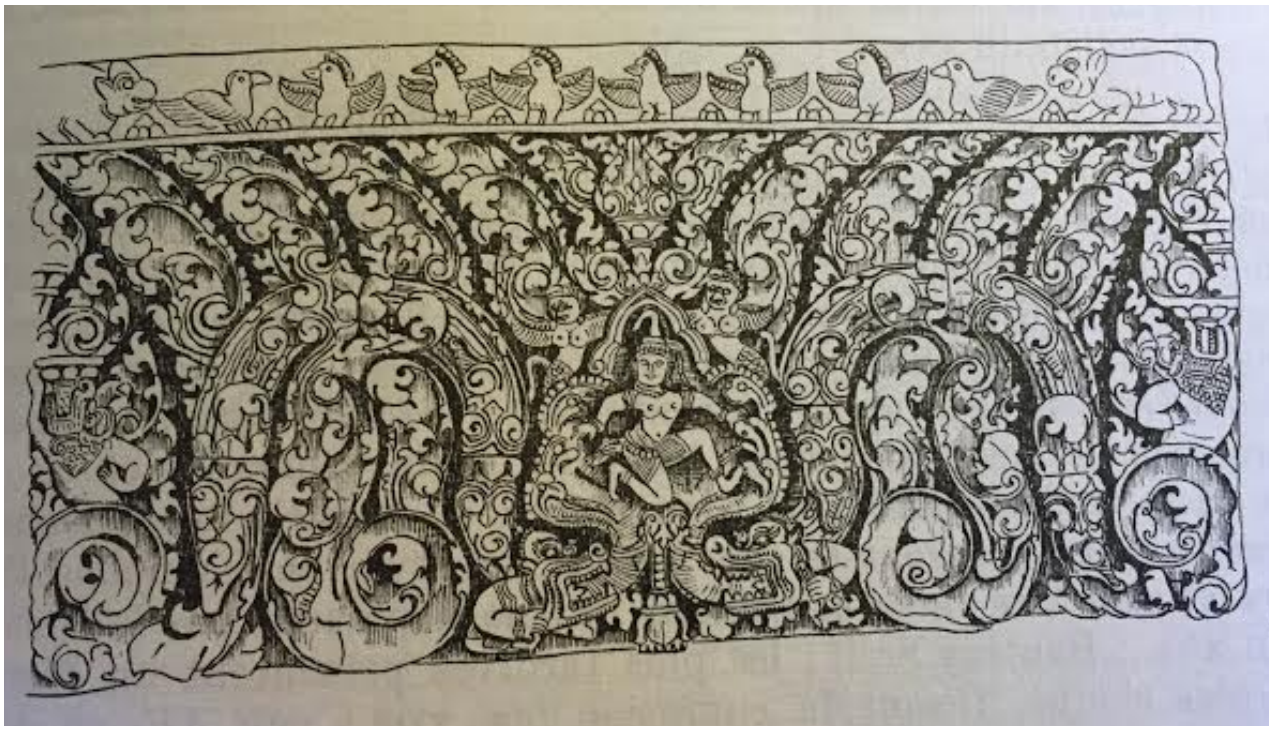


fig. 3.4
Drawing depicting the typical lintel type
Source: Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966)

fig 3.5
Lintel, South Door, East Pavilion on platform, East face
Angkor, Baphuon, 1050-1066
Sandstone
Source: Paul Lavy

fig. 3.6
Lintel with Śiva and Uma
Angkor, 11th century, Baphuon style
Sandstone
Musée Guimet
(MG17488)
Source: ArtStor

fig. 3.7
Lintel with Yama, deity of the underworld
Nong Hong Temple, Buriram provinceNortheast Thailand, Baphuon style, but recalls Banteay Srei
11th century
Sandstone
Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
Source:
http://searchcollection.asianart.org/view/objects/asitem/search@/3?t:state:flow=14a15483-ee71-4e3b-93d0-a748e63e9cb7

fig. 3.8
Lintel
Prasat Muang Tam, Pra Khon Chai district, Buri Ram province
Angkor period, 11th century, Baphuon style
Sandstone
Source: Smitthi Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels*, 109.

fig 3.9
Lintel with Śiva on Nandi
Angkor period, 11th century, Cambodia
Stone
Gift of Steven Kossak, The Kronos Collection, 1996
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
(1996.473)
http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39606?ft=lintel+cambodia&pg=1&rpp=20&pos=1

fig. 3.10
Rāvaṇa shaking Mt. Kailash
Banteay Srei, 10th century
Sandstone
Source: Paul Lavy

fig. 3.11
Rāvaṇa in his palace
Angkor Wat, eastern gallery III
Source: Vittorio Roveda. *Images of the Gods*. Thailand: River Books, 2005. Image 4.4.69.

fig. 3.12
Īśāna, Guardian of the Northeast
Found at Prasat Phnom Rung
Sandstone
Source: Hammond, Sara. "Prasat Phnom Rung: A Khmer Temple in Thailand", in *Arts of Asia,* vol. 18, no. 4. 61.

fig. 3.13
Maheśa
Bronze
National Museum of Cambodia
(GA 3291)
Source: Emma Bunker and Douglas Latchford. *Khmer Bronzes: New Interpretations of the Past.* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, Inc., 2011). 503.

Fig. 3.14
Iśvara
Pediment, second enclosure, eastern gopura, Banteay Srei, 967 CE,
Sandstone
Soruce: Personal Photobucket account (user unknown)

fig. 3.15
Kṛṣṇa killing singha
Prasat Phimai, Nakhon Ratchasima, early 12th century
Sandstone
Source: Smitthi Siribhadra and Mayurie Veraprasert. *Lintels.*

Fig. 3.16
Kṛṣṇa killing the nāga Kaliya
Prasat Pen Chang, Kompong Thom, mid 11th century
Sandstone
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh
(KA1826)
Source: ArtStor

Fig. 3.17
Viṣṇu killing the two rākṣasa, Madhu and Kaitabha
Banteay Samre, interior lintel, southern face
Sandstone relief
Source: Bhattacharya, Kamaleswar. "Étude sur l'iconographie de Banteay Samrè". *Arts Asiatiques* 2, no. 4 (1955). 294-308.

fig. 3.18
Viṣṇu killing the two rākṣasa, Madhu and Kaitabha
Banteay Samre, southern gopura, exterior lintel
Sandstone relief
Source: Bhattacharya, Kamaleswar. "Étude sur l'iconographie de Banteay Samrè". *Arts Asiatiques* 2, no. 4 (1955). 294-308.

FIG. 6. — Gopura II Sud, face Nord. Demi-fronton Ouest. Viṣṇu terrassant un démon
(Cl. E. F. E. O.)

fig. 3.19
Viṣṇu killing the a rākṣasa
Banteay Samre, Southern Gopura II, north face,
Sandstone relief
Source: Bhattacharya, Kamaleswar. "Étude sur l'iconographie de Banteay Samrè". *Arts Asiatiques* 2, no. 4 (1955). 294-308.

fig. 3.20
Kṛṣṇa killing Canura and Mushtika (wrestlers) or Madhu and Kaitabha.
Southern pediment, central tower, Angkor Wat, sandstone
Source: Paul Lavy

fig. 3.21
Carved lintel with three headed Buddha
Thailand or Cambodia, 12th century, sandstone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cynthia Hazen Polsky, 1984 (1984.491.12)
Source:
http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38305?ft=lintel+thailand&pg=1&rpp=20&pos=4

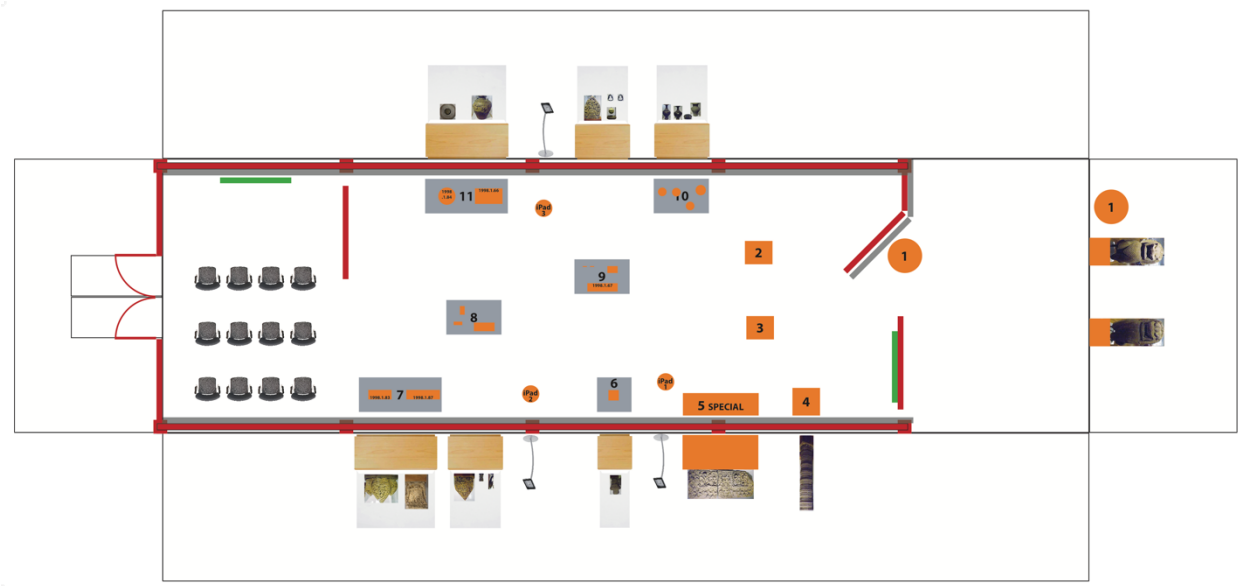


fig. 4.1

Proposed Gallery Layout for Fragments & Empire

APPENDIX A: FRAGMENTS & EMPIRE: A CATALOGUE OF THE JOHN YOUNG KHMER SCULPTURE COLLECTION

INTRODUCTORY WALL TEXT

The Angkor Empire dominated much of mainland Southeast Asia from the ninth through fifteenth centuries. The political authority of Khmer (Cambodian) kings spread outward from the capital at Angkor in Siem Reap, Cambodia, and into regions of modern-day Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand. Accompanying this territorial expansion were the artistic styles of the imperial court. Evidence of this stylistic transmission is particularly strong in what might be characterized as Angkor's northern "periphery" region in what is today northeastern Thailand. Artist's working in this area, however, did not make exact copies of the art being produced at the capital, but instead blended various influences from Angkor with their own local artistic traditions and initiatives.

The most visible traces of this extensive Southeast Asian Empire are sandstone and brick temples dedicated to the Hindu and Buddhist divinities worshiped by the elites of Angkor. Among these are mountain-temples, towering above the relatively flat landscapes of Cambodia and northeastern Thailand, that re-created *Mount Meru* (or *Mount Sumeru*), the cosmic mountain of the gods in both the Hindu and Buddhist faiths. The relief carvings on Khmer temple exteriors are elaborate depictions of vegetal and garland motifs inhabited by a wealth of Gods, celestial figures, and mythical creatures that manifest the temple's power and signal the transition from the human world to the realm of the gods.

While many Angkor-period temples still stand in modern-day Cambodia and northeastern Thailand, seemingly countless architectural elements such as lintels colonnettes, and architectural sculptures, as well as the free-standing statuary that would have been the focus of worship, have been removed from temple sites, entered the art market, and are now dispersed in

museums and private collections throughout the world. This exhibition brings together for the first time the collections of Cambodian art from the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) and a significant portion of John Young's collection from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA). *Fragments and Empire* offers us the opportunity to experience the rich tradition of Angkorian period Khmer art. Twenty-four artworks from the JYMA and eleven digital images from the HOMA are featured. The digital images will be viewable on electronic tablets.[183]

[183] The introductory wall text above was changed in the final exhibition per the request of the John Young Museum of Art. The introductory wall text that appears in the exhibition reads:

Fragments & Empire reunites John Young's collection of Cambodian (or Khmer) art dating to the time of the Angkor Empire, which dominated much of mainland Southeast Asia from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries. It includes examples of sandstone architectural fragments, ceremonial bronzes, and stoneware vessels associated with the styles of the imperial capital as well as their transmission into peripheral regions of modern-day northeastern Thailand.

All of the sandstone sculptures in this exhibition have been removed from their original contexts as Khmer temple art and now survive piecemeal and in various states of preservation. These "fragments" invite us to envision their original placement and function in Khmer temples, as well as consider some of the important subjects of Khmer art in order to shed light on Angkor's religious milieu. Through comparative art historical analysis, the sculptures also reflect the active transition from one artistic style to the next in conjunction wit the expansion of the Angkorian empire.

This exhibition brings together for the first time the collections of Cambodian art from the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) and a significant portion of John Young's collection from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA). The digital images of HoMA's collection are viewable on the electronic tablets displayed throughout the gallery.

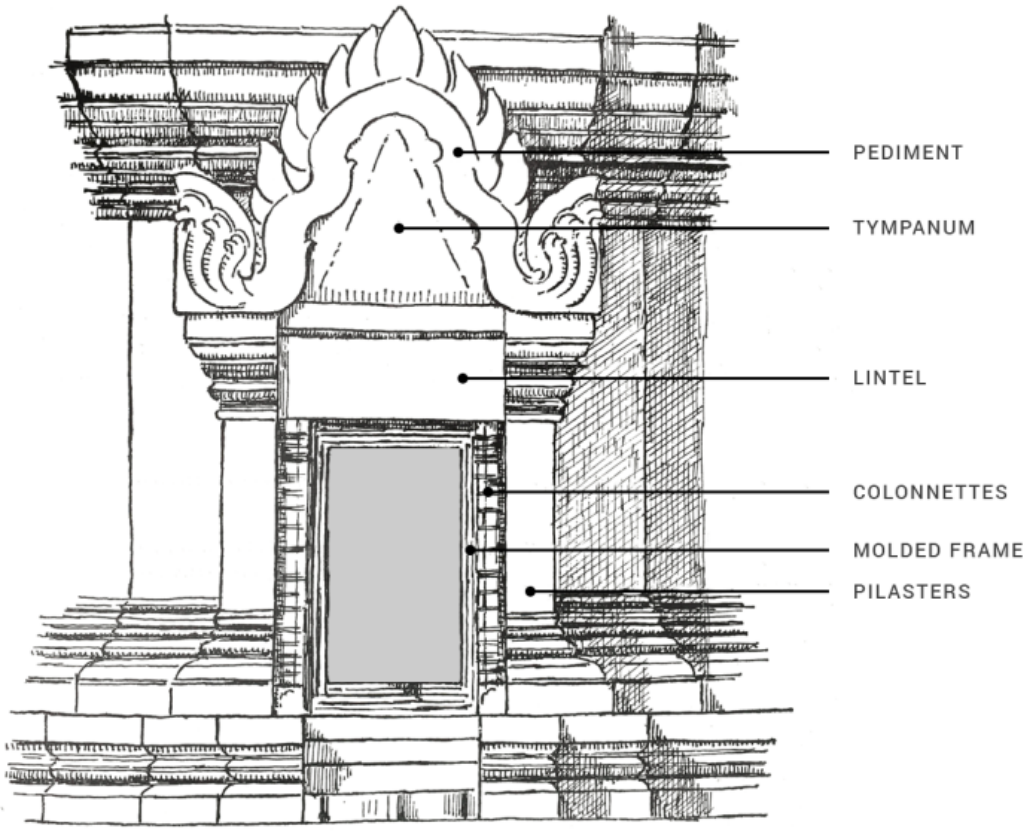
THEMATIC LABELS

WHY IS EVERYTHING IN THIS EXHIBITION BROKEN?

You may be wondering why everything in this exhibition looks broken. The sandstone artworks would have all originally been a part of the Angkor (or Khmer) temple program. Each of these pieces was created as an integral component of the Khmer temple complex. The richly decorated doorways to Khmer temples demarcated the transition between the mundane world outside the temple and world of the sacred within.

The fragmentary nature of these artworks can sometimes make it difficult to understand where they would have originally been placed on the temple site. It is also usually difficult to identify the exact temple from which a lintel or other temple artwork originated. In rare cases, however, lintels have been matched to their original temple site. An exceptional example is the Viṣṇu lintel from Prasat Phnom Rung , a twelfth century temple in northeastern Thailand. On the basis of an old photograph it, was identified in the Art Institute of Chicago by a member of the Thai royal family (who was also a trained art historian)and has been restored to its original location above the eastern doorway of the main shrine.

This diagram above illustrates some of the locations where these artworks would have been located. Throughout your time in Fragments & Empire, see if you can match any of the works in this exhibition to the diagram you see here.



(FIG A-1)
Khmer Temple Diagram
Source: Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1966),144. Edited by Brye Kobayashi and Lauren Tabor.

WHAT IS A LINTEL?

A number of the sandstone artworks from the John Young collection can be classified as lintels. Unlike the free-standing sculptures of deities or guardian animals, lintels are structural elements placed above the doorways (and false doorways) that had their outward facing surfaces beautifully carved in bas-relief. Artists of the Angkor period do not seem to have been bound to a specific or exclusive religious perspective and worked freely to adapt both Hindu and Buddhist themes according to local interests, though only rarely was the imagery associated with these two religions combined at a single temple site.

Like the elaborate decorations of floral and vegetal garlands on the outside of temples in modern-day Southeast Asia, these sandstone lintels provided perennial and durable adornment of the temple's exteriors. Lintels also demarcated the transition between the mundane world outside the temple and world of the sacred within. Gods, celestial figures, and mythical creatures spewing-forth abundance and vegetation manifested the power and presence of divinity.

HOW ARE LINTELS DATED?

The various motifs, religious subject matter, and the specific way the vegetal patterns are rendered can be studied in close detail in order to assign a specific date to the artwork. Khmer temple sites with known dates of construction and surviving reliefs are used to provide approximate stylistic dates to reliefs and sculpture from undated sites. You will encounter lintels and other sculpture that are identified as having been made in a specific style, such as the Bakheng style or the Angkor Wat style. Khmer temples, all of which were commissioned by Angkorian kings and elites, are strongly tied to concepts of political power and, in addition to their religious roles, served various social, economic, and administrative functions. A lintel appearing in the Angkor Wat style, for example, would suggest a strong association to the period of King Suryavarman II (r. 1113-1145/50) and the presence of his political authority. Yet, some lintels are transitional in style incorporate elements of multiple artistic styles, and combine various motifs in ingenious ways. This seemingly hybrid nature of some Khmer lintels may parallel transitions in political rule and may also suggest the spread of artistic ideas outside of Angkor's capital and into its peripheries. A temple style in vogue at Angkor's center might not reach its peripheries until a later date and might then be combined with other artistic motifs and ideas locally specific to these regions. The Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel (6699.1) on the LCD monitor speaks to some of the issues pertaining to transitional styles.

SANDSTONE

(FIG. A-2)
MALE TORSO
Angkor, 10th century, Bakheng Style
Sandstone
Gift of John Young, Honolulu Museum of Art, 1991
(66994.1)

Figural sculpture from the Angkor period can range in size from relatively small scale works such as this one (around 12” without the surviving limbs and head) to massive statuary, such as figures from Koh Ker, which tower above an average viewer. Free-standing statuary of the Buddha or Hindu deities, including Śiva and Viṣṇu, would not have normally been placed outside of temples. Within shrines the sculptures would have been adorned with jewelry and dressed in garments paralleling their sculpted drapery. Despite their bare-stone appearance today, the surface of Khmer sculptures would probably have also been painted and covered with gilding (gold leaf). Over time, however, it is extremely rare to find surviving sculpture from the Angkor period with paint or gilding intact.

(FIG A-3)
MALE TORSO
Angkor, 10th century, Koh Ker style
Sandstone
Gift of John Young, 1991
Honolulu Museum of Art
(6689.1)

This immense figure, which may depict either a Hindu deity or *dvarapala* (guardian figure), remains incomplete. We may not know for certain what subject the artist was depicting due to the absence of any identifying attributes or inscriptions. However, this statue provides us with the rare opportunity to examine the sculpting process. While the torso above the waist is smoothly modeled with a finely finished, though weather-worn necklace, the *sampot* (garment wrapped around the waist) and legs are only partially completed, and the grooves left by the sculptor's chisel remain.

Koh Ker sculpture is readily recognizable because of its massive size. Yet, despite the monumentality of these sculptures, it is not uncommon to find Koh Ker statues in dynamic postures capturing a sense of movement (often in dance or combat). The Viṣṇu on Garuda lintel displayed on the LCD monitor continues the discussion of Khmer art during the Koh Ker period.

A HISTORY OF COLLECTING: KOH KER SCULPTURE ON THE MARKET AND IN MUSEUMS

The art of Koh Ker has been controversial in recent years. In 2011, when Sotheby's New York attempted to sell a Koh Ker sculpture, several additional Koh Ker sculptures were identified as stolen from the Kingdom of Cambodia in violation of Cambodian law and international agreements. The UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property protects against the removal of tangible heritage from its country of origin. Under the pressure of a civil forfeiture suit filed by the United States attorney's office (United States v. 10th Century Cambodian Sandstone Sculpture), Sotheby's agreed to return the statue to Cambodia.

Museums throughout the United States have also repatriated Koh Ker statuary. These include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Denver Art Museum. In short, there has been a massive movement towards repatriating (returning) Cambodia's cultural heritage. Museums that elect to repatriate portions of their Khmer art collection are often met with favorable agreements of loans to their museums from Cambodia's museum collections.

(FIG A-4)
STELE WITH BUDDHA, LOKEŚVARA, AND PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ
Angkor, 10th century
Stone
Gift of John Young, 1991
(6699.1)

This bas-relief (low relief) stele depicts three figures below a tri-lobed arch. These characters are personifications of the Triratna, the three jewels of Buddhism: Buddha, *dharma* (doctrine or duties), *sangha* (monastic community). An embodiment of all three jewels, the Buddha sits in meditation atop a pillar at the center of the stele. On either side beneath him are Lokeśvara (proper right) and Prajñāpāramitā (proper left). Lokeśvara (Avalokiteshvara), embodies the*sangha*, while Prajñāpāramitā personifies the jewel of the *dharma*.

Lokeśvara is depicted with identifying attributes in each of his four hands. In his upper proper right hand, he holds meditation beads (*akshamala*), in his upper proper left, a meditation book, in his lower proper right, a lotus, and in his lower proper left hand a holy water flask. These four attributes are indicative of Lokeśvara's *ascetic* (hermit) nature, which he shares to some extent with the Hindu god Śiva.

The female figure in this relief holds a lotus in each hand. This iconography is common for a few female divinities. However, the triadic composition and presence of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Buddha confirm this figure's identification as Prajñāpāramitā, who is typically depicted in Khmer art holding a manuscript. This relief is particularly noteworthy for its early date as Khmer images of Prajñāpāramitā are rare before the 12th century. Two centuries later, this triad of the Buddha, Lokeśvara, and Prajñāpāramitā became extremely popular under the reign of Jayavarman VII (r. 1181-1218), when it was equated with the king himself (as the Buddha), his father (as Lokeshara) and his mother (as Prajñāpāramitā).

(FIG A-5)
NĀGA FINIAL
Angkor, 10th century
Sandstone
Purchase, 2004
Honolulu Museum of Art
(12949)

The *nāga* was one of the most prominent and enduring features of Khmer temples during the Angkor period. Compared to the *nāga* finial at the start of this exhibition, this *nāga*, is massive in size. While the *nāga* from the John Young Museum of Art (JYMA) collection could have originally functioned in a number of ways around a Khmer temple site as part of an antefix or roof finial, this *nāga* would have appeared as part of a balustrade (railing). *Nāga*, facing outward towards the cardinal directions, frequently terminate the ends of balustrades surrounding Khmer temples.

While the JYMA *nāga* sculpture at the start of this exhibition is heavily weather-worn, this *nāga* displays, in intricate detail, the individual and ferocious faces of this mythical creature still prepared to protect the temple site it once guarded. *Nāga* from the Angkor period are most frequently depicted with either five or seven heads that join at a single, unified body. A jeweled headdress adorns this *nāga* from the Honolulu Museum of Art and provides us with an example of how the JYMA *nāga* may have originally appeared.

(FIG A-6)
Viṣṇu on Garuda
Angkor, c. 10th century, Bakheng style (?) or later
Sandstone

This lintel has been attributed to the early tenth century Bakheng style (specifically, after 893-ca. 925). However, closer examination of the features of this lintel may indicate a date later in the tenth century, reflecting features from the Koh Ker (921-ca. 945) or the Pre Rup style (947- ca. 965). The central scene depicting Viṣṇu on his *vāhana* (animal mount), Garuda, provides some indication that this lintel may be seen as a transitional piece that post-dates the Bakheng lintel style. The depiction of Garuda (half eagle and half man) is rendered in a style that closely parallels depictions of the mythical creature inside the sanctuary of Prasat Kravan (consecrated in 921) during the final years of the Bakheng style. Prior to the Prasat Kravan relief, depictions of Garuda predominantly depicted the mythical bird with a humanoid torso and without wings. In this relief from the HoMA as well as the relief inside Prasat Kravan, we see the emergence of this winged Garuda type who supports the god Viṣṇu with both hands instead of the Garuda type who, prior to these depictions, is seen clutching either the central garland or *nāgas*. Lintels depicting Viṣṇu supported by Garuda are rare and lintels that come after appear to return to a Garuda clutching the central garland or *nāgas* once again. Another lintel in this exhibition depicts this later Viṣṇu on Garuda type.

While the overall posture and composition of this central Viṣṇu on Garuda scene exhibits strong parallels to the relief from Prasat Kravan, the hulking, full-figured Garuda, adorned with jeweled armbands, chest ornamentation, earspools, and a *diadem* (crown) also has a convincing likeness to the Koh Ker style depictions of Garuda during the second quarter of the tenth century. Most notable is a massive, freestanding Garuda from the National Museum of Cambodia (NMC) in Phnom Penh. These nuanced variations that indicate a later date for this lintel also speak to shifts in political power that were occurring during the tenth century. The site of Koh Ker is located in

northern Cambodia approximately 75 miles (120 kilometers) outside of the central Angkor region (Siem Reap, Cambodia). During the reign of Jayavarman IV (r.928-941), Koh Ker functioned as his primary power center and residence. There, he sponsored numerous temple projects that pushed sculptors to create artwork and temples larger in scale than ever before. The massive undertaking is believed to have been a visual assertion of Jayavarman IV's power as he attempted to re-locate Khmer power to Koh Ker as an alternative capital to Angkor.

Another indication of the transitional aspects of this lintel can be seen along the top register. It is not unusual to find a series of seated *rishis* (sages) in the uppermost register of Khmer lintels. However, this lintel employs a different, and much more rare, motif. Although heavily damaged, there is a series of eight, kneeling figures each enclosed in their own decorated arch. A lintel from Prasat Sralao (now in the NMC), also depicting a Viṣṇu on Garuda scene, has an upper register with twelve kneeling figures similar to the ones in this relief. The striking similarities between the Prasat Sralao and Honolulu lintels suggest the possibility of a similar age for both. The Prasat Sralao lintel probably dates to the third quarter of the tenth century, a time when Khmer kings had reverted power away from Koh Ker and back to Angkor. Artists at this time often sought inspiration in the Bakheng style perhaps as a statement of political continuity and stability after the interruption of the Koh Ker interlude. This "looking back" on the part of mid-to-late tenth century artists may explain the earlier Bakheng stylistic features that appear on the HoMA lintel.

(FIG A-7)
NĀGA FINIAL
Angkor period, c. 10th -13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998,1.139)

A multiple-headed cobra adorned with a jeweled headdress, the *nāga* is associated with the aquatic realm and the creative forces of the underworld. The *nāga* is viewed as the original ancestor of the Khmer people into the present day. A popular creation myth in Khmer culture tells of a *nagini* (female *nāga*) princess, Soma, marrying an Indian *brahman* (holy man) and thus creating the Khmer people.

The *nāga* was one of the most prominent and enduring features of Khmer temples during the Angkor period. *Nāga* sculptures can be found rearing up with an unblinking stare and teeth bared, to turn away evil forces from entering the temple site. *Nāga* sculptures, such as this one, can be found at the ends of *balustrades* surrounding the Angkor temple complex in all four cardinal directions. The mythical serpents also make their appearance s on terraces, staircases, and on the terminating ends of the roof. *Nāga* are also depicted in *bas-relief* (low relief) format in Angkorian art and are often major characters in the Buddhist and Hindu stories adapted into Khmer culture.

(FIG A-8)
MALE TORSO
Angkor, 11th century, Baphuon style
Sandstone
Purchase, 2003
Honolulu Museum of Art
(12478.1)

In order to identify Hindu and Buddhist sculptures from the Angkor period, art historians "read" the iconography presented in hairstyles, garment types, body and hand positions, and attributes held in the hands. Unfortunately, sculptures are often partially preserved and are missing heads and limbs. In instances where bodily extremities and identifying attributes no longer survive, we are left with only a general identification, as we see here, of either a male or female torso.

The carved details of the garments however, tend to survive despite the effects of weather and damage over time. The intricate ways in which these textiles are depicted has been one of the most reliable characteristics used in dating Khmer statuary. Just as fashion trends wax and wane today, so too did the styles of dress during the Angkor period. This allows art historians to establish a chronology based primarily on the ways in which clothing and drapery folds are depicted.

This sculpture is an example of the Baphuon style from the 11th century, a period with a very distinctive type of garment. As we can see here, the *sampot* (lower body wrap) is finely pleated, shorter than in earlier styles, and dips below the naval with a scooped appearance. Excess fabric is gathered at the thigh in a draped "pocket fold" and secured by a belt around the waist. If we were to turn this sculpture around, we would also see that there is an intricate fold in the back that resembles butterfly wings. In general, compared to other styles, Baphuon sculpture tends to be smaller and more slender with wide shoulders and thin hips.

(FIG A-9a)
LINTEL WITH TWO DEITIES
Angkor, c. 11th-12th century
Sandstone
Gift of John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.59)

(FIG A-9b)
LINTEL WITH TWO DEITIES
Angkor, c. 11th-12th century
Sandstone
Gift of John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.59)

This lintel depicts a unique and unusual composition not known in any other example from the Angkor period. The central scene depicts a five-headed, eight-armed, deity seated in the posture of royal ease beneath a sculpted architectural frame. While it is difficult to make out any attributes that would assist with the identification of this deity, the multiple heads may be an indication of the Hindu god, Śiva. Specifically, this may be a representation of his supreme manifestation as Maheśa which started to appear within the Khmer Shaivite (Śiva) pantheon during the mid-tenth century. An alternate interpretation might suggest Śiva's alternate, horrific manifestation, as Bhairava, however, the absence of a visible skull motif complicates this possible identification.

Despite the dance-like posture of the figures, the lower scene in this relief is a depiction of active combat. Violence in Khmer art is often minimized and frequently reflects dance-like poses. The central figure in the lower scene can be seen locked in combat with two smaller figures on either side brandishing weapons. While the deity above seems to echo a Shaivite association, the lower scene appears to imply a Vaishnava oriented narrative. This lower scene may indicate one of the aspects of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, from a popular story in which he enters a wrestling competition and fights two wrestlers, who are later found out to be *asuras* (demons).

(FIG A-10)
GUARDIAN LIONS
Angkor period, c. 11th-13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.94 & 1998.1.93)

The placement of guardian animals outside a Cambodian (or Khmer) temple is typical throughout the Angkor period. Animals depicted with open jaws, alert postures, and an unwavering stare would have served an *apotropaic* (guardian) function, manifesting the temple's power and averting evil forces. While the *nāga* seen at the beginning of this exhibition would have adorned one of the *balustrades* that flanked a temple's causeways, lions such as the two you see here, would have always occurred in pairs flanking staircases and entrances to temples.

The HoMA also has another pair of sandstone lions outside of their Southeast Asian art gallery. Both the lions in this exhibition and the lions at the HoMA were previously in John Young's private collection.

Often when we encounter these types of guardian lions in museum collections, we find them with their tails and paws broken off. The free-standing lion sculptures would have once been attached to large bases to support the weight of these robust sandstone felines. While the Asiatic lion was not indigenous to mainland Southeast Asia, images of this animal were disseminated throughout most of Asia. Khmer artists had to render this guardian creature without ever having seen a lion. The image of the lion, or *singha*, can also be found in *bas-relief* (low relief*)* on the exterior reliefs of Khmer temples.

Some of the lintels from the John Young collection in this exhibition may have *singha* lurking amongst the vegetation.

(FIG A-11)
VIŚVAKARMAN OR YAMA FLANKED BY TWO ATTENDANTS
Angkor, c. 11th-13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.83)

The figure at the center of this scene is possibly Viśvakarman, the divine architect of the universe. Connected with the forge, Viśvakarman creates the weapons for the gods, including Agni's axe and Indra's thunderbolts. Viśvakarman also appears in the *Ramayana*, one of the best-known Sanskrit epics. In this tale, Viśvakarman plays a significant role in the construction of Lanka, the home of the *rakshasas* (demons). In Khmer art Viśvakarman can either be holding an object reminiscent of a lotus bud or a *danda* (stick of command). In reliefs such as this one, Viśvakarman is typically depicted kneeling over a *kala* head at the center of a lintel.

The *kala* is a creature associated with Śiva. Its name, which means "time" in Sanskrit, signifies the primordial world of the temple shrine, before and beyond time. The *kala* became a popular motif used in the center of Khmer lintels where the kala serves an *apotropaic* (protective) function. *Kala* can appear in any lintel scene and need not be connected with the deities or narrative depicted. This *kala* can be seen holding the central garland in his mouth with his claws clutching the wreath on either side. Throughout the evolution of Khmer lintel design, *kalas* may be depicted with or without hands or even without lower jaws, however, they are never depicted with a body.

An alternate possible identification of this central figure is Yama (the Restrainer), the judge of the dead and, as the guardian of the South, one of the eight regents of direction (*dikpālas*). The placement of *dikpālas* around temple shrines facing the cardinal and sub-cardinal directions provided an additional layer of protection for the temple. Yama in Khmer art typically holds a *danda* (stick of command) that is consistent with the figure in this relief. However, his *vāhana*

(animal vehicle), a water buffalo, is absent in this relief. Another possible example of Yama may occur in the relief next to this one.

(FIG A-12)
FRAGMENT DEPICTING EITHER YAMA OR ŚIVA
Angkor, c. 11th -13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.87)

This relief may have originally been placed above a lintel in the upper portion of a pediment or it may have been an *antefix*, a decorative roof sculpture. The figure seated on a bovine *vāhana* (animal vehicle) at the center might be a *dikpāla* (directional guardian). Among the common eight *dikpāla* in Khmer art, this figure can most likely be identified as Yama, the judge of the dead. Yama is the *dikpāla* of the South and rides on a buffalo. Depictions of Yama typically have two arms (as we see here), however, at Angkor Wat, Yama is seen with multiple arms and and is surrounded by a retinue with numerous umbrellas and fans indicating his status.

An alternate identification for this figure may be Śiva. The ambiguity in identification between Yama and Śiva is due to Śiva also having a *bovine vāhana*. However, Śiva rides on a bull (often popularized as Śiva's companion, Nandin). In addition, Śiva can also fulfill the role as a *dikpāla* named Ishana, guardian of the Northeast. When depicted in his anthropomorphic (human) form in Khmer art, Śiva usually has two arms. However, the presence of iconography (for example, a crescent moon in his headdress or a third eye) that would conclusively identify the figure as Śiva is not preserved in the pediment's current state.

(FIG A-13)
VIṢṆU ON GARUDA
Angkor, c. 11th-13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art, 1998
(1998.1.86)

While it may initially look like a pediment fragment due to its triangular appearance, this sandstone relief is actually the central portion of a lintel. Close examination of the relief reveals that the sides were cut down to this unusual shape at a much later date, possibly in order to remove the lintel from its original temple and enter it into the art market. What survives is a central lintel scene depicting the Hindu god Viṣṇu atop his *vāhana* (animal mount), Garuda. Garuda is a mythical half-eagle and half-human hybrid. He is generally seen as the mortal enemy of the *nāga* (serpent) race. This rivalry between *garudas* and *nāgas* represents cosmic duality and opposing forces in which *garudas* represent the air and heavenly realms, while *nāgas* are associated with the aquatic realm and the creative forces of the underworld. A *nāga* can be seen clutched under the arms on either side of this *Garuda*. However, during the Angkor period, there is a unique development in which *Garudas* and *nāgas* are depicted peacefully together and not locked in eternal combat.

In this relief, Viṣṇu ("All Pervader") follows the typical convention in Khmer art in which he is depicted as a cosmic king holding an attribute (identifying object) in each of his four hands: a conch shell (upper proper left), a *chakra* (discus, upper proper right), a club (lower proper left), and a ball of earth (lower proper right). Together, these attributes symbolize Viṣṇu's diverse powers and pervasive presence throughout the cosmos. On either side of the Viṣṇu on Garuda composition is a lion spewing forth a vegetal garland from open and toothy jaws. If the lintel was still intact, the garland would have run the entire length of the relief.

(FIG A-14)
VIṢṆU FLANKED BY TWO FIGURES
Angkor, c. 11th-13th century, Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
JYMA, 1998, 1998.1.67

While the Hindu god, Śiva, was the favored patron deity for the kings of Angkor, Viṣṇu was also important to several Angkorian kings. Most well-known is Suryavarman II (r.1113-1145/1150) who commissioned the largest religious structure in the world, Angkor Wat, and dedicated it to Viṣṇu. Angkorian kings appear to have drawn strong parallels between Viṣṇu, who is often depicted as a king, and their own rule over Angkor. Other forms, or *avatars* (divine incarnations), of Viṣṇu include Kṛṣṇa and Rama from the Hindu epics of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Ramayana*. The *avatars* of Viṣṇu always perform a role of a savior in restoring balance to the universe.

Flanking Viṣṇu on either side are two kneeling figures who may be worshippers of Viṣṇu and possibly royal donors to the site where this image was originally located. All three of the figures are placed on top of lotus bases indicating their importance and perhaps their divinity. Due to Viṣṇu's strong ties with kingship, it is likely that these are members of the local ruling elite and possibly members of the Angkorian court itself. A relief inside the tenth century sanctuary of Prasat Kravan depicts Viṣṇu on his *vāhana* (animal mount) Garuda, flanked by two similar worshiping figurers. It was common for Khmer kings to seek a parallel between themselves and deities and to thereby achieve a form of deification, or *apotheosis*. A discussion of this relationship between kingship, divinity, and portraiture can be read on the iPads.

(FIG A-15)
MALE TORSO
Angkor, 12th century, Angkor Wat Style
Sandstone
Gift of John Young, Honolulu Museum of Art, 1991
(6689.1)

It is not uncommon to find fragmentary Angkorian sculpture in museums. It frequently enters museum and private collections with missing arms, heads, or bodies. While damage may be the result of age, weathering, and the collapse of ancient structures, this fragmentation may often be the result of the violent removal of art from its original context that precedes its entry onto the art market.

A HISTORY OF COLLECTING: ART SMUGGLING

One of the most infamous cases of Khmer art smuggling involved André Malraux (1901-1976), a French novelist, art theorist, and former Minister of Cultural Affairs. In 1923, Malraux looted Banteay Srei, a mid-10th century temple (consecrated in 967) and attempted to transport approximately one ton of sculpture out of Indochina in the hope of selling it in Europe. Malraux was detained by French Colonial authorities and his attempted theft was ultimately unsuccessful. While Malraux did not face severe charges for his actions, the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property helps to protect the illegal export of Khmer art in the present-day.

Today, in order to protect ancient art, the authorities in Cambodia and Thailand often place concrete replicas in temples and remove original statues to museums for safekeeping. At Banteay Srei, concrete reproductions of *dvarapala* (temple guardians) have been installed in the location of their original sandstone counterparts. The desire for Khmer art is so strong, however, that these reproductions have occasionally been mistaken for the originals and stolen with the goal of selling them as genuine.

(FIG A-16 a, b)
HEAD OF AN APSARA
Angkor, late 12th century
Sandstone
Gift of Mrs. Philip E. Spaulding, 1935
Honolulu Museum of Art
(4279)

(FIG A-16 c,d)
HEAD OF AN APSARA
Angkor, late 12th century
Sandstone
Gift of Mrs. Philip E. Spaulding, 1935
Honolulu Museum of Art
(4279)

This portion of a bas-relief (low relief) carving depicts a female celestial. Commonly identified as an *apsara* (celestial nymph), female figures such as this one would have been carved around a Khmer temple's exterior in dance-like postures. This relief reflects the distinct 12th century Bayon sculptural style. Comparable examples to this sculpture can be seen in the architecture of Jayavarman VII (r.1181-1218?), including the so-called Terrace of the Leper King at Angkor.

Apsaras are believed to typify Khmer ideals of feminine beauty. According to Hindu mythology, these celestial maidens were created through the primordial Churning of the Sea of Milk, a creation story that appears in Indian Sanskrit texts, including the *Mahābhārata* and the *Puranas*. The sumptuous costumes, hairstyles, beauty, and elegance of these heavenly beings have served as the inspiration for modern-day Khmer (Cambodian) dancers. The parallel between contemporary Khmer dance and the postures of the *apsaras* is often cited to demonstrate links between the Angkorian period and present-day Khmer culture. The Royal Ballet of Cambodia (Apsara Dance) was listed as part of Cambodia's Intangible Culture in 2003 by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization).

A History of Collecting: The Biography of an Artwork

This sculpture has an interesting provenance (record of ownership). Before becoming a part of the Honolulu Museum of Art collection in 1935, this sculpture resided in another collection. The inventory number "312" marked on the sculpture, can be traced back to the French colonial period and the École française d'Extrême-Orient or ÉFEO ("The French School of the Far East"). The ÉFEO was founded in Saigon in 1898 and rededicated in 1900 as an institute committed to the study and preservation of the cultural heritage of French Indochina (1887-

1954) comprising Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The ÉFEO has since expanded research throughout Asia. French involvement and research in Cambodia through institutions such as the ÉFEO laid the foundations for how art historians and other scholars understand the Angkor period.

(FIG A-17)
TORSO OF THE RADIATING LOKEŚVARA
Angkor, 12th-13th century, Bayon style
Stone
Gift of John Young in memory of his parents Mr. and Mrs. Young Hin in the honor of the Academy's 50th anniversary, 1997
Honolulu Museum of Art
(4483.1)

A unique form of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Lokeśvara (Avalokiteshvara) appeared in Khmer art during the Bayon period (late 12th-early 13th century). Prior to the Bayon period, Lokeśvara was usually depicted with four arms and a single meditating Buddha image adorning his hair. Under Jayavarman VII's (r.1181-1218?) sponsorship of Buddhism as the state religion, Lokeśvara's appearance transformed into an eight-armed Bodhisattva radiating compassion as expressed visually by dozens of small Buddha figures. This back view of the Radiating Lokeśvara, better preserved than the front of the image, reveals tiny, seated Buddhas emanating out of the Bodhisattva's bare skin. The source for this unusual iconography was probably the*Karandavyuhasutra,* a Mahayana Buddhist sutra (text) which praises the virtues of Lokeśvara and characterizes the pores of his skins as miniature universes and seats of divinity.

The best surviving example of a Radiating Lokeśvara can be found today in the Musée Guimet in Paris, France. During the Bayon period, Lokeśvara was associated with Jayavarman VII's father. An inscription from Preah Khan proclaimed that twenty-three images were dispersed throughout the Angkor empire. Scholars such as Hiram Woodward believe that Radiating Lokeśvaras may have been among the sculptures disbursed throughout the region as part of Jayavarman VII's religious program.

Unlike most Hindu and Buddhist icons from India, which were usually intended to be viewed only from the front, Angkor sculpture is notable for being realized fully in the round. As previously noted, the drapery visible on the front of sculptures is a key tool for establishing the date of sculpture, however the backs also provide us important details. Here, the representation of the drapery is accurate to the point that it can be re-created with actual textiles.

(FIG A-18)
COLONNETTE
Angkor period, c. 12th-13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation
John Young Museum of Art
(1998.1.60)

This octagonal-shaped colonnette (doorframe pillar) is a necessary component of the Khmer temple program. Colonnettes support the decorated, non-weight bearing, lintels such as the ones you see in this exhibition. Similar to the way in which style is used to date lintels and statuary within the Angkor period, we can use known sites with surviving colonnettes to help us find an approximate date. Despite overall wear to this colonnette, the general pattern suggests a date in the later half of the Angkor period. The simplification of this pattern may also indicate that this colonnette was part of a Khmer temple outside of Angkor's capital.

(FIG A-19)
HEAD OF A DEITY (PROBABLY ŚIVA)
Angkor, c. 12th -13th century
Sandstone
Gift of the John Young Foundation, 1998
John Young Museum of Art
(1998.1.85)

This head may depict the Hindu god Śiva, a popular deity worshiped by the kings of the Angkor period. In this sandstone head, above the weather-worn *diadem* (jeweled crown or headband) and in the center of the cylindrical hairstyle, there is a crescent moon symbolizing Śiva's mastery over time. A third eye, with which he burned Desire (Kama), may have also once appeared in the center of the forehead and would have helped confirm this identification. Unlike Viṣṇu, who in Khmer art is often portrayed as a king, Śiva's anthropomorphic (human) depiction represents him as an *ascetic* (hermit). Śiva is a god of paradox who embodies both destructive and creative capabilities. While Śiva is the ideal *ascetic* practicing yoga alone in the wilds, he can also fulfill the role of the model family man and householder for his wife, Parvati and his sons Ganesha and Skanda. Figural sculpture from the Angkor period typically depicts the god in his *ascetic* form, however, many other manifestations of Śiva were also popular throughout the Angkor period.

Sculptures of deities in the round would not have appeared on the exterior of Angkorian temple complexes. While ferocious and fantastic creatures such as *nāga*, lions, and *dvarapala* would have adorned the outside of the Angkorian temples to protect the site, free-standing sculptures of Hindu and Buddhist figures would have always been installed in shrines inside the temple. Within the shrines the figures would have been venerated with offerings, dressed with actual fabric in a manner mirroring the sculpted drapery, adorned with jewelry of gold and gems, and possibly painted. Further examples of Khmer figural sculpture from the Honolulu Museum of Art (HoMA) can be found on the iPads in this exhibition. While this head displays the results of weather damage over time, an unfinished torso from Koh Ker from the HoMA displays the marks of the artist's chisel. As a result of its incomplete state, the Koh Ker figure offers a rare opportunity to examine the sculpting process.

It is not uncommon to find parts of free-standing Angkorian sculptures in museum collections. Figural sculpture from this period frequently enter museum and private collections with missing arms, heads, or bodies. This fragmentation is often a result of the violent removal of art from its original context that precedes its entry onto the art market. One of the most infamous cases of Khmer art smuggling involved André Malraux (1901-1976), a French novelist, art theorist, and former Minister of Cultural Affairs. In 1923, Malraux looted Banteay Srei, a mid-tenth century temple (consecrated in 967) and attempted to transport approximately one ton of sculpture out of Indochina in the hope of selling it in Europe. Malraux was detained by French Colonial authorities and his attempted theft was ultimately unsuccessful. While Malraux did not face severe charges for his actions, the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property helps to protect the illegal export of Khmer art in the present-day.

Today, Khmer temple sites in Cambodia and Thailand often have concrete (or stone) reproductions in place of original statues which have been removed to museums for safekeeping. At Banteay Srei, concrete reproductions of *dvarapala* (temple guardians) are installed in the location of their original sandstone counterparts. The desire for Khmer art is so strong, that these reproductions are occasionally mistaken for the originals and stolen with the goal of selling them as genuine.

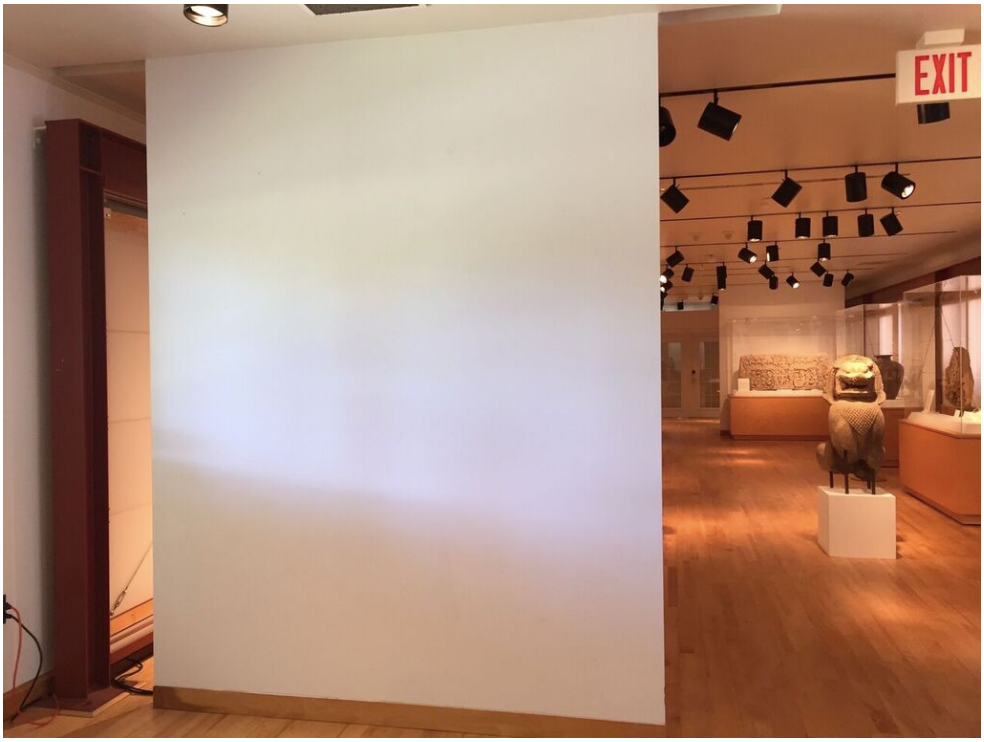
(FIG A-20)
PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ
Angkor, ca. 1200, Bayon style
Sandstone
Purchase of Seldon Washington Bequest, 2003
(12596.1)

During the reign of the Khmer king, Jayavarman VII (r.1181-1218?) the state religion of Angkor witnessed a dramatic shift away from a Shaivite (Śiva) oriented form of Hinduism towards a unique form of Buddhism characterized by Mahayana and Tantric art. While no iconoclasm is known to have occurred during this transition, the art of the period, known as the Bayon style, became more "humanized" in appearance. Images such as this one are characterized by what scholars have identified as a portrait-like aesthetic. Some researchers have even suggested that due to the high realism of the figures, this new style was intended portray the physical likeness of Jayavarman VII and his family, merging their own likenesses with that of Buddhist divinities. This figure displays the "Angkor smile" that is famously associated with the art of this period.

This sculpture is believed to represent Prajñāpāramitā (the "perfection of wisdom"), a goddess from the Mahayana Buddhist faith. She is often represented in Khmer art holding a lotus bud in one hand, as seen here, and a Buddhist text in the other, probably corresponding to the now missing hand. While the present iconography is therefore incomplete, the appearance of a seated Buddha in her headdress also supports the Prajñāpāramitā identification. During the Bayon period, Prajñāpāramitā was associated with Jayavarman VII's mother.

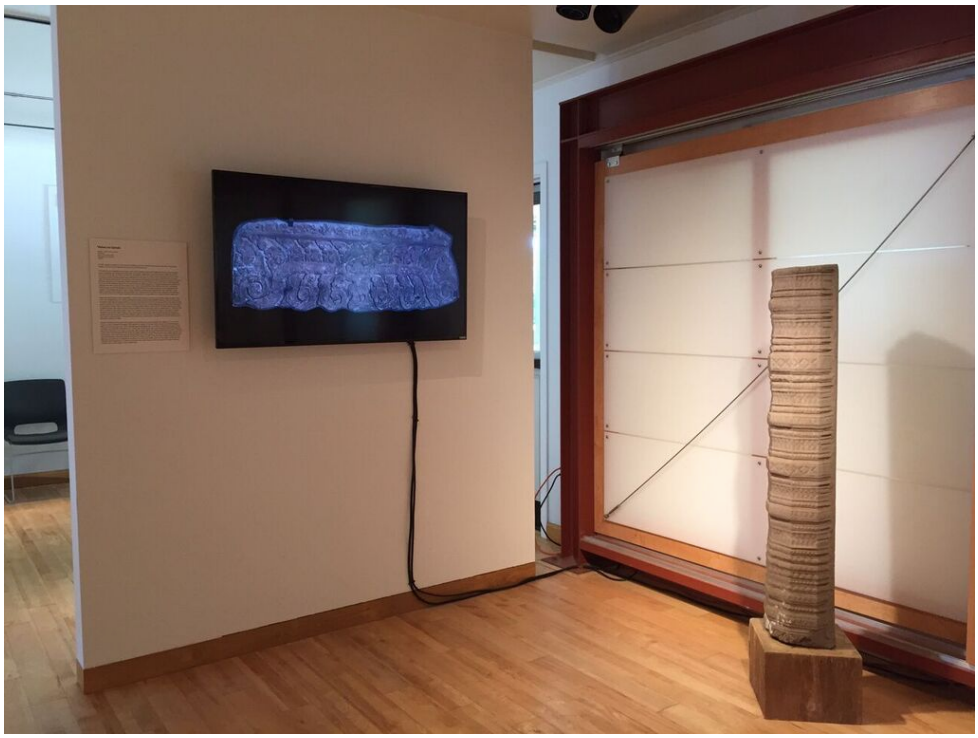
APPENDIX B: FRAGMENTS & EMPIRE: CAMBODIAN ART FROM THE ANGKOR PERIOD INSTALLATION VIEWS

APPENDIX B-1
Fragments & Empire Installation



APPENDIX B-2
Fragments & Empire Installation

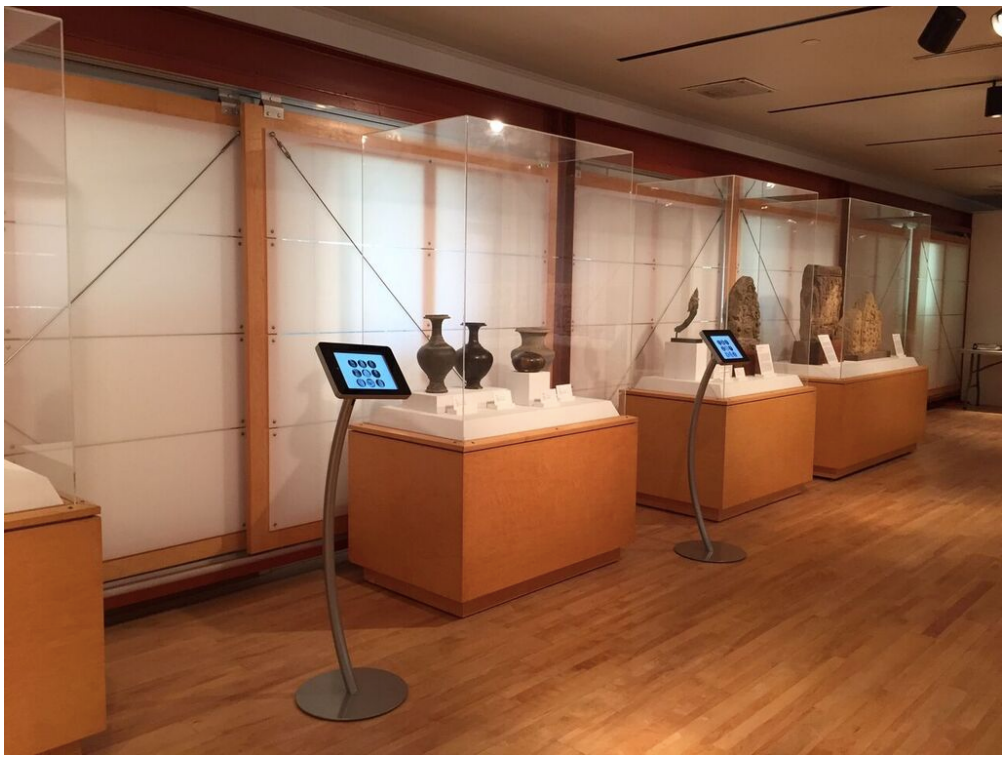
APPENDIX B-3
Fragments & Empire Installation



APPENDIX B-4
Fragments & Empire Installation

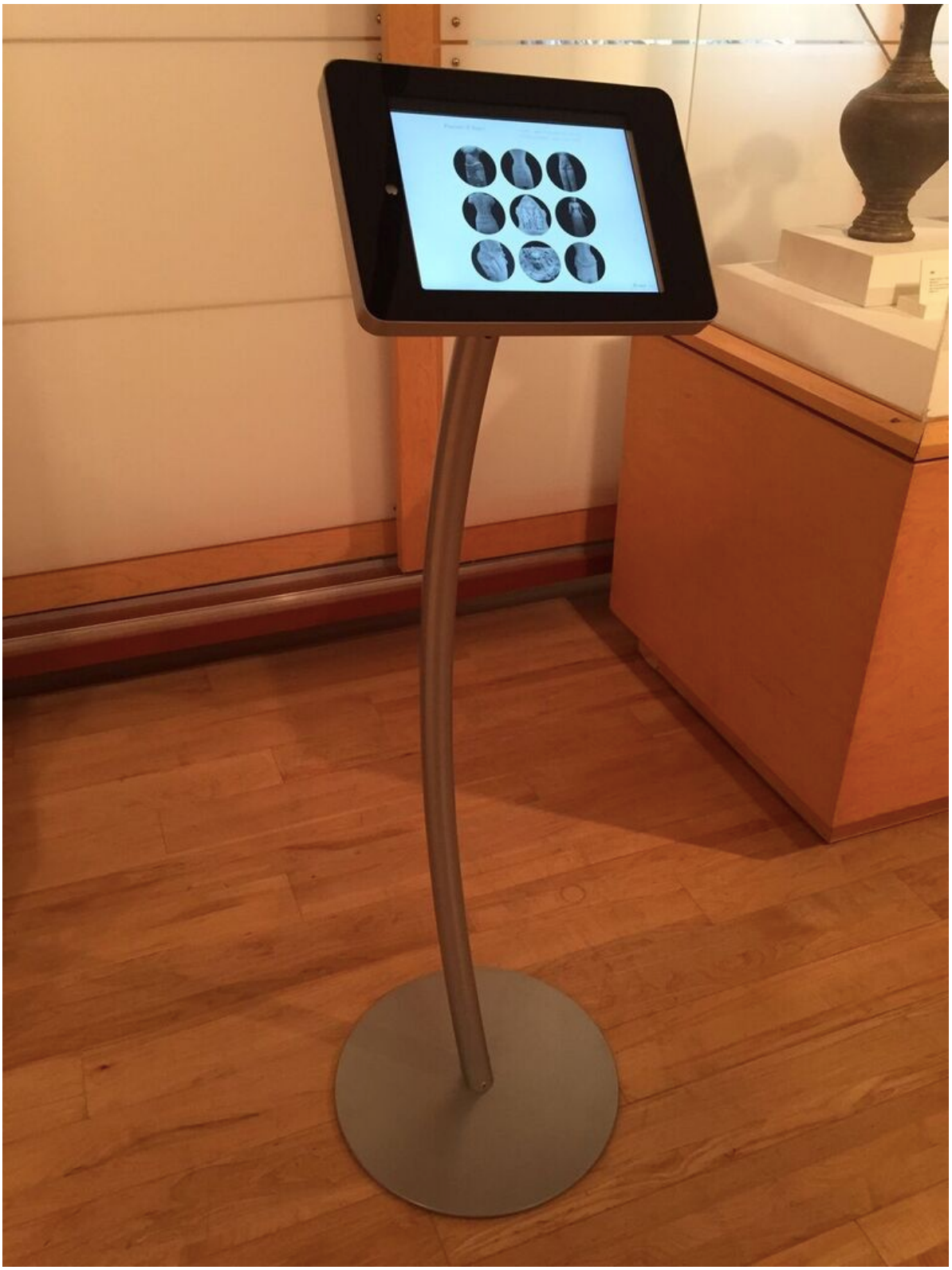
APPENDIX B-5
Fragments & Empire Installation

APPENDIX B-6
Fragments & Empire Installation



APPENDIX B-7
Fragments & Empire Installation

APPENDIX B-8
Fragments & Empire Installation



APPENDIX B-9a
Fragments & Empire Installation with iPad Interactive

APPENDIX B-9b
Fragments & Empire iPad Interactive

APPENDIX B-10
Fragments & Empire Installation

APPENDIX B-11
Fragments & Empire Installation

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